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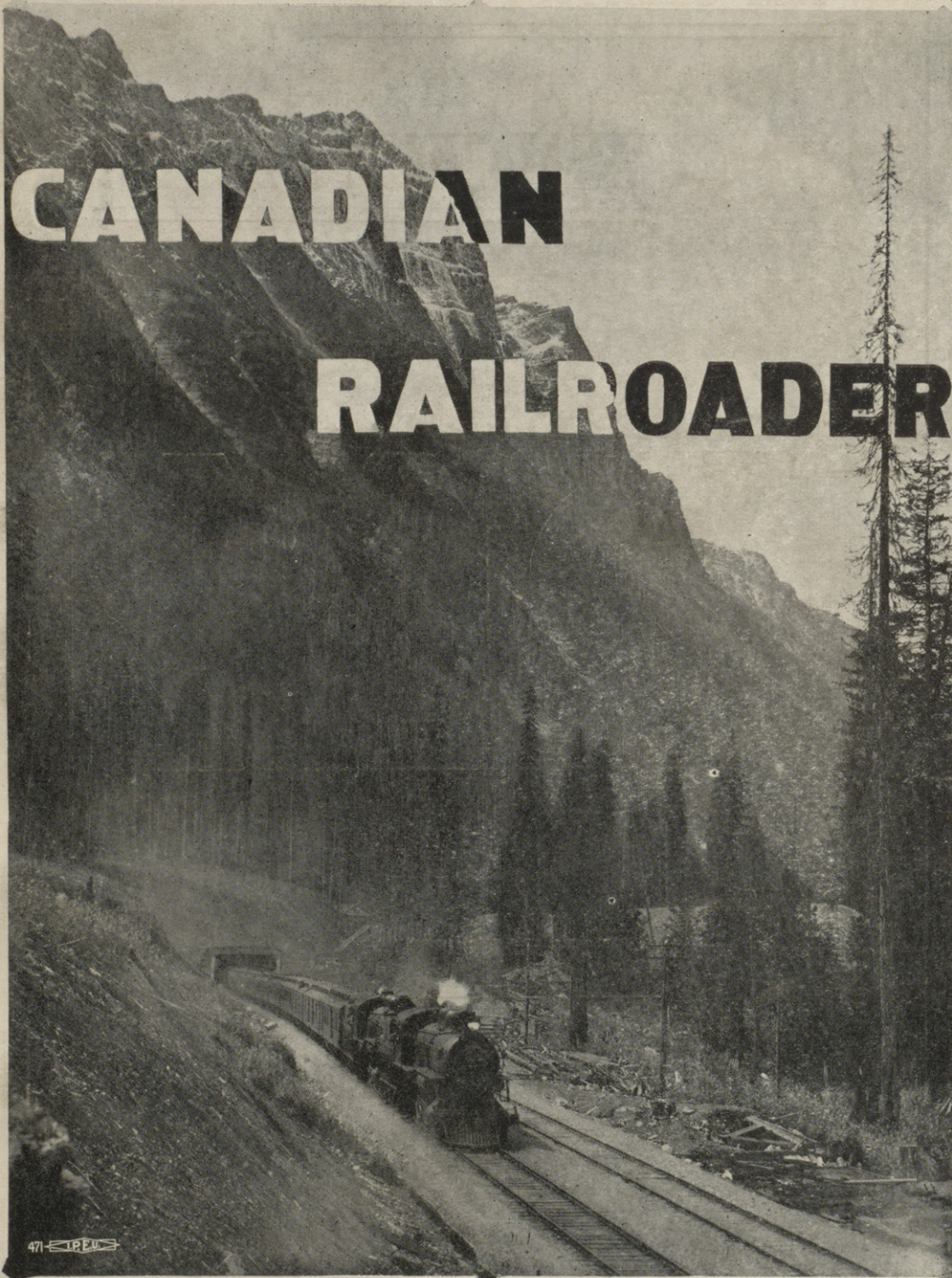
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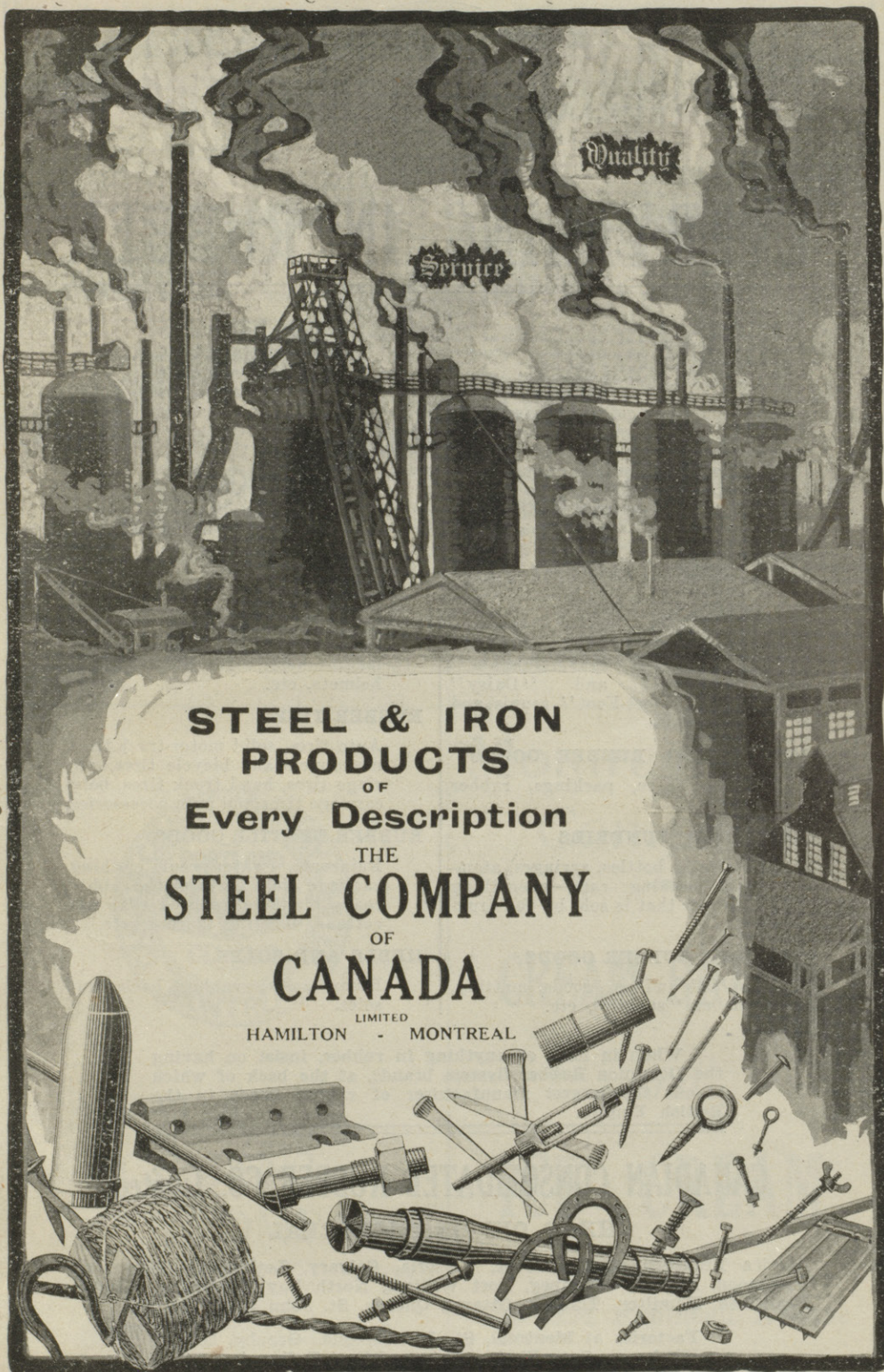
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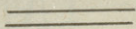
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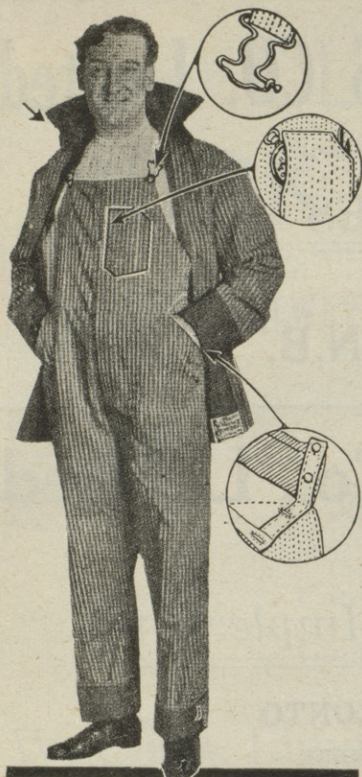
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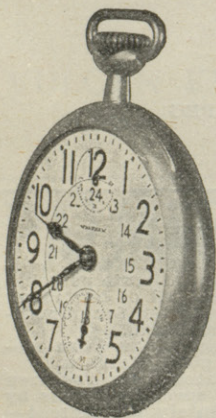
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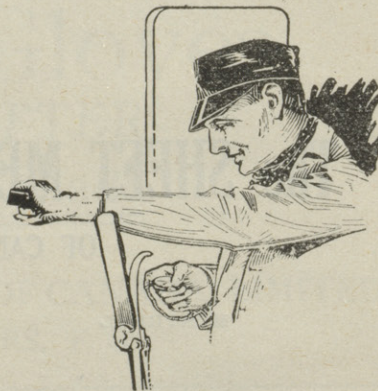
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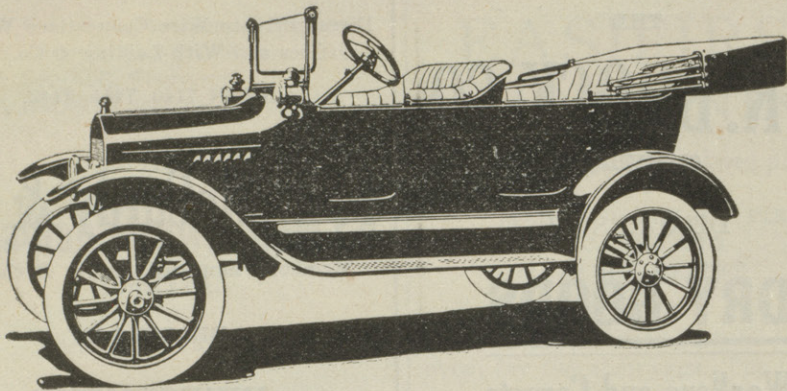
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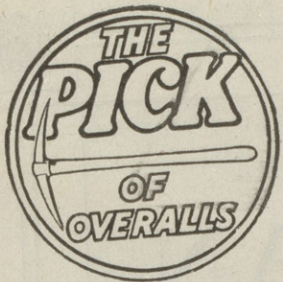


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Hart & Tuckwell	100	Robert Reid	XVII
Hatton, D. & Co.	XXXV	Riordon Pulp & Paper Co., Ltd.	XX
Hall, George, Coal Co., Ltd.	XVII	Ritz-Carlton Hotel	XXXVI
Hayward, S., Co.	XXXVI	Robertson Foster & Smith, Ltd.	XXXVI
Hodge, George, & Son	XL	Robin Hood Mills, Ltd.	XXXVI
Holt Renfrew, Ltd.	XXIV	Rolland Paper Co., Ltd.	XXXIX
Hudon, Hebert & Co. Ltd.	85	Royal Bank of Canada	XXV
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Imperial Oil Co., Ltd.	XXVII	Simpson, Jos., Sons, Ltd.	XXXII
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Johnston, H. B. & Co.	XXII	Soren Bros.	102
Kaufman Rubber Co., Ltd.	XIX	Société des Eaux Purgatives Riga	70
Keast, Harold D.	XXXV	Snider, Wm., Milling Co., Ltd.	XXXV
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The Canadian Railroader

A JOURNAL OF THE PEOPLE

Vol. I.—No. 3.

MONTREAL, AUGUST 1918.

Issued Quarterly.

EDITORIAL

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE FIFTH SUNDAY MEETING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

IN THE next number of the Canadian Railroader will be found the platform of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada which has three cardinal purposes:

1st. Direct political representation of the country's workmen, those who toil by hand and brain.

2nd. The advancement of education on a par with the most enlightened policies to be found in any part of the world.

3rd. Methodical organization of the Dominion into political districts, where capable men — developed by the Movement — may be brought forward and run for office in Dominion, Provincial and Municipal elections, backed by a carefully and methodically prepared organization to insure success.

The railroadmen of Canada need political organization. The Farmer is represented by two thousand and twenty unions. They have a political platform and they mean business. The soldier has the Great War Veteran's Association. At the last elections they demonstrated their political power. The trades unionists of Canada now have the Labor Party in which something over nineteen hundred unions are co-operating. The eighty odd thousand railroadmen of Canada now have the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada.

If a local has not been established in your vicinity, communicate with us at once and we will assist you in every conceivable manner. Read the constitution and platform which will appear in the next number carefully. The time has come when those who toil with hand and brain must have a direct voice in the affairs of government. We can only secure this by organizing and concentrating all our efforts to attain representation politically. Send in your annual membership fee.

It requires money and lots of it to organize a big National political machine which will be effective on election day. It is money well spent. We will ask every railroadman in the Dominion to send in \$2.00 to the Dominion Headquarters, 65 Dandurand Building, Montreal, for a yearly membership card. This is less than one cent a day.

Great problems are looming up on the industrial horizon. When the war ends the workers of this Dominion will need to be splendidly organized to compel legislation that will safeguard their interests. This is the golden hour. Read the platform in the coming number and be thoroughly familiar with every clause in it, then write to us and let us assist you in establishing a local in your city.

We earnestly hope that the progressiveness of our political platform will appeal to you when you have read it and that every railroadman in the Dominion will give it his political, moral and financial support.

THE GERMAN WAR MACHINE.—THE PACE THAT KILLS

ABOUT forty years ago the plutocrats of Germany began the building of the great German War Machine. They reared the bloody structure upon the four great pillars of modern social organization, the schoolroom, the church, the press and the factory.

In the school the plastic minds of the young were moulded to the horrible theories of war. The church inspired obedience and forever purred from the pulpits the blessings of humility and the hallowness of abject subserviance, while the press sowed the weedy seeds of distrust and fanned the smoldering flames into burning hatreds of other peoples and their institutions. The factory cemented the whole structure and perpetuated the whole system by crystallizing the entire scheme, through the medium of the army, into profit and greed which enabled the plunderers to loot the hypnotized masses and so create a financial plutocracy whose present aim and object it is to maintain its dominant position over an enslaved people.

By the cunning use of the school, the unscrupulous use of the church, the absolute ownership of the press and the possession of all industrial establishments they have created a nation systematized for and devoted to war. They have set "the pace that kills."

This unspeakable machine, the product of greed and unbounded ambition and intensified human perversity is running amuck, bedecked with the red sploches of war, bespattering everything it touches in its cyclonic path. It has compelled other governments, peace-loving, democratic and republican to meet the pace, to play the game to eat the fire from their guns and spit it back at them.

This is the deepest, reddest wound of all. that we who love liberty and life so well have had to press down upon our own brows the thorny crown of militarism to meet the pace that kills and crush the Prussian tiger in his lair. This is the deepest, the reddest, but the sacred wound of all.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY HAS REPLY FROM THE FOE SOCIALISTS

ON JULY 13, at North Hampton, Eng., Arthur Henderson announced, while speaking at a labor conference, that the British Labor Party, during the month of June, had succeeded in getting its statement of war aims (as published in the last issue of the *Canadina Railroader*) into the hands of the Socialists of the enemy countries. Five replies had been received at that date.

In his speech, Mr. Henderson says: "The first reply came from the Bulgarian socialists who accepted practically all the general points of our memorandum, reserving some unimportant points regarding Macedonia. The second reply came from the Hungarian workers who have submitted to the Stockholm committee a statement of policy along the line of our memo. The third reply came from the Austrian socialists who accepted the principles of the Inter-Allied memorandum as a basis for discussion. They endorsed our conception of a Federal system for Austria-Hungary and a similar system for the Balkan States. They declared they had always repudiated the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and they agreed that Alsace-Lorraine and Italian, Polish and colonial questions must be solved in accordance with the peoples concerned. The fourth reply came from the German Minority Socialists who submitted a statement to the Stockholm Committee on the lines of the Inter-Allied memo. The fifth and most significant reply came from the German Majority socialists who endeavoured to send it to Troelstra but the action of the Allies in refusing passports to Toelstra prevented the written document from reaching us. Nevertheless we received a summary which shows that the German Majority Socialists all declare their willingness to take part in an International conversation on the basis of the proposals made by the neutral socialists.

It also seems clear that the German Majority socialists accept virtually all the principles of the Inter-Allied memo. They are ready to discuss even the question of the responsibility for the war although they think that no good purpose would be served thereby. They are ready to discuss Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine and believe that an amicable solution can be found. They agree to a complete restoration of Belgian independence, and they urge that an international conference would be very useful at this time and finally they declare themselves in favor of a league of nations to prevent aggression by one power upon another.

On June 5th, in the House of Commons, Arthur Henderson referred to an announcement made by Chester M. Wright who was a member of the American Labor Mission which visited England. That announcement implied that the policy of Mr. Arthur Henderson and his Party had been radically modified, regarding the question of a conference between the Allied and German workers. No doubt remained, after the convention abrogated the political truce, that Arthur Henderson speaks officially for the Labor Party of Great Britain.

Mr. Henderson stated that he believed that the announcement of Chester M. Wright was likely to mislead the American public. "We are willing to converse but not negotiate with the German labor," said Mr. Henderson. He emphasized the fact that the policy of the Allied workers is not that of compromise on any essential issue and still less of surrender to the militaristic and imperialistic Central Powers. He said that the Allied workers are just as sternly resolved to resist the predatory designs of the German militarist as when Belgium was brutally violated. Nor will they accept a cynical peace on the basis of a military stalemate. What they want is a peace of reconciliation and understanding in harmony with the principles of international justice and the right of nations to freely determine their own destinies.

"The keystone of the new international system at which the Allied workers aim," said Mr. Henderson, "is a league of nations, including not only all the present belligerents but every other independent State.

On August 10, 1917, the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party submitted the following resolution to the National Labor Conference, "that invitations to the International Conference at Stockholm be accepted on the condition that the Conference be consultative and not mendatory."

Position Reaffirmed.

"From that position there has been no departure. It has been reaffirmed in the war Aims memorandum adopted by the British Labor Party. The suggestion that we seek to enter a plenary congress to negotiate a peace over the heads of a responsible

government is thus completely disposed of. From the conditions laid down in the memorandum of the British Labor aims, we have not receded. Upon the conditions laid down in that memorandum but for that purpose only, the allied working class parties desire to meet representatives of the working class movement from the Central Empires."

"We seek to unite the German people with us in an effort to overthrow militarism and imperialism which as much their enemy as it is ours. It is imperative that the German people should be made to realize in face to face talk with representatives of the five democracies of the West that we will not submit to a German victory like that imposed on Russia, Ukraine, Roumania and Finland."

"If we cannot convince them that the triumph of their militarists and imperialists will permanently fasten upon the democratic nations, not excepting the people of the Central Empires themselves, the awful burden of armaments and compulsory service, there opens up a vista of unending war until civilization itself collapses."

"To whatever reason and conscience remains to the people of the Central Powers, we desire to appeal for the purpose of forcing them to choose, knowing the consequence of a choice between our program of a permanent peace and democratic progress, and the program of world conquest and spoliation and oppression pursued by their present militarist rulers."

"If the material resources and moral qualities of the German people are to continue to sustain Prussian militarism, then the war will be prolonged until one side or the other is completely subjugated. It is our duty to declare to the German people that Germany's military success only postpones the possibility of world peace. We seek by argument as well as by sustained and resolute resistance in the field, to bring into line with us in the effort to end forever the rule of force in international affairs."

The Canadian Railroader intends to give its readers all developments as they occur in British Labor and political affairs. How very different are the facts from the garbled reports so widely published in Canada and the United States concerning the attitude of British Labor towards an inter-belligerent conference. Now that the facts are fully before you allow your minds to turn for a moment to the press reports of the last few months and ask yourselves, "What was the purpose of mixing and churning up the facts and confusing the Western mind on this very important question?"

WHAT ABOUT OUR LABOR EDITORS ?

EDITORS and publishers of newspapers from overseas have journeyed to London as the guests of the Imperial Government from whence they will be taken to the battle-front to view the conflict from personal observation so that their readers at home may later have the benefit of their travel and observation.

The invitation was accepted with wonderful alacrity. From near and far the manufacturers of public opinion swarmed together. En route, that editor who was farthest removed from the bosom of his daily readers, usually furnished the interview to the local press.

It certainly was a gathering of the notables. Millionaires, multi-millionaires and newspaper monopolists of the twenty-four karat stamp were there with bells on.

How utterly ridiculous it would have been, after all, if some lonely, simple but truthful labor editor had been projected by some unavoidable accident among the aristocrats of newspaperdom ? Admitting that thousands upon thousands of trades unionists throughout the country would have been keenly interested in receiving the reports and reading the impressions of a Canadian Labor editor who would view the great battle unfoldments and the tremendous industrious and political developments in Europe from the simple workingman's viewpoint.

Admitting the broad democracy and the courtesy in selecting an editor of the people to accompany this scintillating assemblage, yet we are willing to admit that these are not sufficient reasons why the tranquillity and serenity of the "party" should have been disturbed.

What good are labor editors anyhow ?

ILLNESS OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER

THE railroadmen of this district were greatly disappointed when the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, owing to illness was unable to address the Fifth Sunday Meeting which was to have been held at His Majesty's Theatre on June 30th.

Health permitting, Sir Wilfrid has expressed his willingness to be present as the principal speaker at the next Fifth Sunday Meeting to be held on September 29. Let us all hope that we shall have the pleasure of hearing the great statesman at that date.

MANUFACTURERS' AND FARMERS' UNIONS TO MEET IN CONFERENCE

GREAT interest is being aroused in the West over the approaching conference between the Grain Growers' Unions and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. The meeting will probably take place in October or November.

It appears that quite a few manufacturers are not satisfied with the present tariff. They seem inclined to favor tariff changes. Others, evidently, are prepared to have the duty removed from the goods which they manufacture provided they can secure the raw materials without paying duty. Still another group believe that the present tariff is necessary if Canadian industries are to prosper and grow. All in all, it seems to be a movement which has as its purpose the object of modifying the more radical stand that the Farmers' Unions have recently taken concerning the protective tariff.

Here we have another concrete instance of the value of organization. The meeting of the Farmers and Manufacturers will be of great importance to every man, woman and child in Canada.

THE VALUE OF LABOR ALLIANCE

THE real reason for the wonderful success of organizing the industries of the United States on a war basis is due to the co-operation between the government of the United States and the labor Federations.

When will the Canadian Government take heed ?

A great responsibility devolves upon labor in the Dominion to maintain the war industries to highest capacity. Why then is Canadian Labor ignored ?

There are all sorts of alliances between the government and the representatives of capital as is the case with the War Trades Board, the Munitions Board and the Railway War Board. Having in mind the recent achievement of Senator Gideon Robertson, a product of the labor movement, who by using his special knowledge acquired by many years of service in the ranks of labor, has been able to avert industrial trouble of the gravest character. Remembering the great value of his services to the Dominion during these troublesome times, would it not appear to be logical and sensible for the government to enlist in its services other trades unionists of ability and courage, who through long years of work in the movement have earned the confidence and good will of their fellow workmen ?

RAILWAY LABOR BOARD ARRANGED.

AS A RESULT of the conference held on July 26, at the Windsor Hotel, between the officials of the Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen, Maintenance of Waymen and Telegraphers' Organizations and the Canadian Railway War Board officials, the way has been paved for the establishment for a RAILWAY LABOR BOARD to ensure stability in shipping during the war. Great headway was made in arranging the details of the proposed organization pending action of the leaders in referring the matter back to their chief executives.

It is proposed to establish a board of railway labor commissioners consisting of equal numbers for the Canadian Railway War Board and the Labor Organizations. It seems very likely now that no great difficulties will be experienced in working out plans whereby railway troubles will be adjusted with speed and efficiency in the future, eliminating the danger of interrupted transportation.

After the conference Senator Gideon Robertson, acting as Deputy Minister of Labor and chairman of the joint meeting, said, "The spirit shown by the Canadian Railways and their employees and their common desire to do everything possible to win the war is truly gratifying."

The Canadian Railroader is more than pleased that the government is beginning to realize the enormous value of open and frank co-operation with the great throbbing Labor Movement.

GEORGE PIERCE, Editor.

REMEMBER

The next Fifth Sunday Meeting will be held on Sunday, September 29th, 1918, at 7.30 P.M., at Stanley Hall, Montreal.

Be sure to attend.

SUBSCRIBE

To the Canadian Railroader.
Send in your dollar to-day
for a year's subscription.

The Famous Witley Report

Perhaps no document during the war has received the attention which has been given to the now famous WHITLEY REPORT. It has been highly endorsed by the president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers, who characterizes it as an extremely able study, reflecting the long experience of its authors in the very complex problems of capital and labor.

Practically every employer throughout the British Empire has been studying this remarkable document. It therefore follows that every wide-awake unionist should have a thorough understanding and knowledge of the WHITLEY REPORT, because it is bound to play a most important part in the lives of the workingmen of the British Empire.

In our last issue, we printed the Reconstruction Policy of the British Labor Party. Emanating from the masses, it advocates great fundamental reforms which are really revolutionary in character. It thundered across the oceans, electrified the masses and won adherence by the millions.

The WHITLEY REPORT is essentially an employer's report, but this is no reason why every workingman should not have an exact knowledge of what the WHITLEY REPORT contains.

By having a knowledge of both sides of the problem, the trades unionists idea as expressed in the Reconstruction Policy and the employers' idea as expressed through the WHITLEY REPORT you will be fully informed and thus better able to sit in judgment. Of one thing we are sure, that if the employers who so strongly advocate the WHITLEY REPORT will study the Reconstruction Policy of the British Labor Party as printed in the last issue of the "Canadian Railroader" with that sympathy and well-meant earnestness which working people throughout the world will devote to the WHITLEY REPORT, then in the days that are to come—the days of feverish reconstruction—then ALL WILL BE WELL; if not, then God help us all.

GEORGE PIERCE, Editor.

The Explanation of the Whitley Report

The Industrial Reconstruction Council.

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The Industrial Reconstruction Council is a propagandist body having for its object the awakening of national interest to the need for a complete system of Industrial Self-Government.

The nation must arrive at a new viewpoint about trade, and the members of this Council, men of all parties from all sections of the community, are united in a single effort to win its acceptance. At the present time, when public attention is focussed upon any trade, it is nearly always aroused by such questions as capital and labour, profits and wages, masters and men—always the differences and never the great common interest, the trade itself. For this is the new idea that the Industrial Reconstruction Council is striving to impress upon the nation, that a trade is greater than the sum of its parts, that it has an existence quite apart from those engaged in it, and that it calls for a full display of that public spirit and corporate feeling which we have as a nation developed so highly in other directions.

It is the duty of all those engaged in a particular trade—capital, management and labour—to join hands for the study

and betterment of that trade. The output of most of our trades could be many times increased by proper attention to such matters as education, scientific research, statistical research, and the study of markets. None of these great subjects has received proper attention in the past. They are all beyond the scope of the individual; they interest labour equally with capital; they call for co-operative action.

It is because the Whitley Report shows the means by which this genuine and practical co-operation can be realized that the Industrial Reconstruction Council advocates the general adoption of its recommendations. The goal before us is nothing less than the complete organization of every trade—every man in his union, every employer in his association—and from the two an elected Trade Parliament in each industry, with proper official status and endowed with a full measure of responsibility for the promotion of its common interests.

In this way we shall bring out the great fund of public spirit which exists within our trades, and which our present methods have entirely failed to realize. Industry will be recognized as one of the highest forms of national service, and we shall do something to lay the foundations of peace and prosperity in the future.

The Industrial Reconstruction Council is established for the purpose of carrying on every form of propaganda in order to promote and make practical these ideals.

TRADE PARLIAMENTS

Questions at Issues.

What are we to make of British Industry after this war? Has the genius of our fellow-countrymen for trade and business enterprise reached its zenith, and does the war mark a stage in the decline of British trade from the proud position it occupied sixty or seventy years ago? Or, on the other hand, are there not a hundred reasons for believing that, granted certain preliminary obstacles are overcome, there are opportunities lying almost immediately ahead for the practically indefinite expansion of nearly all our industries?

The Reconstruction of Industry by Industry Itself

These questions are on every lip. But the writer who desires to think accurately on trade questions must start with three simple propositions. In the first place, almost the whole duty of the British nation after the war—Government and people alike—may be summed up in the phrase "Political and Industrial Reconstruction." With the vast issues involved in political reconstruction this pamphlet has nothing directly to do. It is worth while to remember, however, that the task of rebuilding the political fabric of the British Empire will be greatly simplified if merchants and manufacturers, business men and working men, can reach some broad basis of agreement about social and economic reconstruction. The purely political work of our statesmen will be much easier if the industrial and trading classes shoulder the main burden of industrial reconstruction themselves. It is the work of these classes to prepare schemes, suggest policies and discuss possible lines of development, leaving to the Government and Parliament in the main the simpler task of putting their plans and ideas into final legislative form.

The Problem is Urgent.

Secondly, the business of industrial reconstruction is urgent. It cannot wait. So essential is it to come to an early understanding about the main principles of industrial policy that even while the book of the war is still unfinished it is necessary to write the first few chapters in the book of peace. To be ready for peace, we must prepare during war. Unless our schemes for industrial reconstruction are well under way when peace is declared, our industrial competitors may easily steal a march on us, and a golden opportunity be lost for ever.

Industry Responsible for its own Development.

In the third place, while industrial reconstruction will be the work of many minds, the direct contribution it is in the power of manufacturers and work-people to make towards this great undertaking cannot be over-rated. The statesman can help the matter forward by his administrative ability, his power to see

all sides of national life and to blend the valuable parts of historical tradition with the economic requirements of the new national environment. The idealist can help it forward by his dreams of a perfected industrial State. But the principal task must lie in the hands of the practical men of affairs, who have built up our great national trades, who are familiar alike with the present industrial situation and with the needs of the new industrial era on which we are entering. Each trade—that is to say the brain and manual workers in each trade—has got a sphere of almost incalculable importance in creating the new industry of the future.

The Whitley Report.

It is because these facts have been growing on the consciousness of the country that the Whitley Report has aroused such intense interest. In the United Kingdom it has been hailed with enthusiasm in every quarter. It has many ardent supporters. It has few open or avowed enemies. In Germany the prospect of British manufacturers adopting the principles of the Whitley Report is apparently viewed with considerable disquietude. A leading newspaper in South Germany, the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, recently said, in an article on the Report: "The attempts made by the English to reform industry deserve consideration by us also, since in the great struggle after the war that nation will certainly come off best which carries over unimpaired from the war period into peace the ideal of work for the common good, and which takes due account not only in politics but in the organization of industry, of the self-consciousness of the people which has grown so immensely during the war. Without losing sight of our own special circumstances, we have every reason to follow with the greatest attention the development of the situation in England." If this is the typical attitude of our national enemies it is worth while pressing home the moral of the Whitley Report. Although, as has been said, it has its enthusiastic supporters, every new departure must make good its case before a vast army of lukewarm Laodiceans. Mr. Bonar Law has said that we must not spread the redemption of the national debt over a long period of

years, but that we must aim at its early reduction to manageable proportions. Similarly it will be of little avail for purposes of reconstruction if we take ten years or a generation to put into practical shape the ideas underlying the Whitley Report. It must be now or never. What, then, is the great idea underlying this historic document?

Its Root Idea.

The great conception is that each industry is a unit. An industry is not a collection of individual firms, each of which has no connection, except as a competitor, with all the others. Industrial concerns, manufacturing or trading in the same commodity or group of commodities, are not to be regarded as simply or even mainly competing for the supply of the same or adjoining markets. A trade is something bigger and finer than the mere sum of units that compose it. It has its own problems, its own internal questions or organization and methods of production, its own special sources of raw material, its own peculiar difficulties regarding access to markets, home and foreign, its own particular attitude on the one hand to capital and on the other hand to labour. Further, each trade stands in a well-defined relation to the State, to the consuming public, and to the transport and financial system, on which, in the modern industrial world, all trades and businesses depend in the last resort. Hitherto no trade has had a corporate organization. When, as has happened during the war, the Government has desired to deal with a trade as a whole, machinery for the purpose has had often to be very hastily improvised. We have seen the advantage of industrial organization during war. It is plain that such organization must have equal, or greater importance in the subsequent time of peace.

The Organization of an Industrial Council.

The form the organization of an industry should take has been called the Industrial Council. Before analyzing its functions, it is necessary to describe how such a Council should be constituted. In the first place it is intended that each Council shall deal with the whole trade or industry and not with any special

branch. There cannot be in one trade one Council representing Capital, another representing Management, and a third representing Labour. The whole object in having a Council is to bring together all the factors in the trade. A trade does not belong to the Capitalist as such, nor to Management as such, nor to Labour as such. But all these elements ought to be represented on the Council. Again, a Council should not be composed of representatives of individual capitalists, employers or workpeople. It ought to be an Association of Associations. In other words, it ought to consist of representatives of all employers' groups and of all the trade unions covered by the particular industry.

An Association of Employers' Associations and Trade Unions.

The formation of an Industrial Council does not make the provision of other forms of industrial union less essential. It rather pre-supposes them. Without effective employers' associations, and trade unions it is impossible to form a Council. The wider and the more representative the collection of associations that appoint delegates to the Council, the more effective it is likely to be.

No Interference with the Individual Management of Industries.

Again, the formation of an Industrial Council will not interfere in the slightest degree with the existing system of business management by individuals, firms and companies. The State has imposed a large measure of control during war, to which all manufacturers, large or small, have been compelled to conform. After the war there is likely to be an instant and even a peremptory demand that the State should release its grip and allow business to go back into the old channels. Suppose, then, that in a given trade a Council is set up during the war. What will be the position at the end of the war? The Orders and Regulations of Government Departments will gradually be abrogated and disappear. But the individual manufacturer will find the situation very different from what it was before the war. There may very well be a shortage of this or that essential material, old markets may be closed and new markets opened under novel conditions. This or

that unexpected emergency may arise. Here the utility of the Industrial Council will appear. In that Council all questions affecting the welfare of the trade will be discussed weekly or fortnightly or monthly as the case may be. The whole experience of the trade, the knowledge of its leading members about general conditions will be open and available to the humblest member of the trade. He will still manage his business himself, but he will have more than his own business ability and knowledge to rely on. He will be able to draw on the whole experience and ability of the trade in order to reduce untoward risks and to eliminate many causes of failure. Or if, in the interests of the whole trade, some forms of regulation must be temporarily maintained after the war, it is better surely that these regulations should be imposed by the trade itself than by the State. An Industrial Council, properly manned, and with functions corresponding to its own dignity and importance, is a better legislative body in all matters relating to the trade than a Government Department, however well qualified, which has to rely on the opinions and judgment of outsiders. An Industrial Council can speak for the trade. A Government Department, at the best, can only accept and act upon the opinions of its own appointed experts whose knowledge may be limited.

The Relation between the State and the Industrial Councils.

(1) An Industrial Council would, then, in a particular industry be composed of representatives of associations of employers and working people, and would constitute an effective parliament or representative body for the discussion of all matters referred to it by agreement or legislative enactment or, in course of time, by the custom of the trade. No Council can be formed without the assent and co-operation of both employers and employed. The larger interests of the industry as a whole, as contrasted with the interests of an individual business, are the affair of all who derive their income or livelihood from the industry, whether they are paid weekly, monthly, or twice a year.

(2) In order to safeguard the interests of the trade, and to deal with special emergencies as they occur, the Council

ought to meet frequently. Its discussions must be open to the trade, reports of its proceedings must be widely circulated, and every attempt must be made to inform the whole trade of the results of its deliberations.

Variety of Constitution Essential

Within these limits there will be room for a great variety of constitution and of methods of conducting the Councils. What is suitable for one industry will not be necessarily be suitable for another industry. The important point is that every industry should have a Council or representative body, and that this body should include both workpeople and employers, and that its proceedings and decisions should be fully reported to the trade.

The Industrial Council as a Forum for the Discussion of all Industrial Questions.

Mere machinery, it may be said, is quite unimportant. What are the Councils to do once they are created? This is a point that is often made, but, in the opinion of the writer, it overlooks one vital fact. The mere creation of a representative body for each industry would be in itself a highly important event. All the authorities on the British Constitution are agreed that it is only one of the functions of Parliament to act as a legislative body. Its main function is to be the forum to which all matters affecting the welfare of the people of the country can be brought for discussion. Similarly an Industrial Council, by acting as a forum for the discussion of all trade questions, will enable all grievances to be ventilated and all probable future perils to the industry to be anticipated, and, if possible, averted. The mere existence of Industrial Councils will give a new status and power to British industry.

Problems of the Transition Period.

But the question of function, although perhaps subsidiary, is also important. Here the post-war period may be considered as falling into two divisions: (1) the period immediately following the peace — the transition period — and (2) the subsequent period, i.e., the period that will begin when industry shall have again settled down into something

like routine. The problems that an Industrial Council will have to meet during the first period are obvious enough.

(a) **Demobilization.**

There are questions like demobilization. The Government will want to know how many men will be required immediately after peace in a given industry to meet the prospective demand of the consuming public. Some industries are now essential for war purposes, other industries will then be essential for peace purposes. Only a Council representing the whole trade can give the Government the information it requires or deal with the matter as a whole

(b) **Apprenticeship.**

There is also the question of apprenticeship. Much former custom and usage have been shattered by the war. The temporary adoption of conscription has naturally led to the inadequate training of the younger men and women. How this defective training can be quickly made good, and what conditions of apprenticeship shall be required in the future in view of the changed character of many industries, these are problems on which the Government will require advice that no authority but a representative Council is in a position to offer. The war has taught us much about intensive training and workshop organization. How far are we to profit permanently by these lessons?

(c) **Raw Materials and Allied Questions**

Further, there are problems connected with the supply of raw materials and their distribution which can only be dealt with in a similar way. Many others may be suggested. But the desirability, indeed, the absolute necessity, for such Councils will be apparent when it is borne in mind that after the war the whole system of international commerce and finance will be in the melting pot.

(d) **The Confusion of the Transition Period.**

It will be a time of extraordinary confusion. Even the largest and best established industries will have to face tremendous irretrievable dangers, unless they organize themselves betimes to ensure that their needs are seriously con-

sidered and their place in the industrial system made thoroughly secure.

The Permanent Problems of Industry.

In the larger world, however, on which industry will enter after the period of transition is over, these Councils will have an even greater sphere of usefulness. The student of this side of the subject would do well to read Mr. Benn's "Trade of To-morrow." The Whitley Report enumerates a number of matters that may be handed over to the Councils for special consideration and treatment. But the eleven questions suggested as appropriate are merely illustrations of the kind of work such bodies ought to undertake.

(a) **Research and Education.**

The provision of new sources of raw materials, the endowment of special research work for making new raw materials available and for reducing the number of processes and of cost in manufacture, the elaboration of schemes for technical and commercial education, are important objects for which no single manufacturer can provide, but on which the Council might throw much light.

(b) **The Development of Export Trade.**

Further, the development of the export trade, as for instance by the adoption of a better Consular Service or the co-operative employment of commission agents or travellers in foreign countries, these are also matters which would naturally devolve on the Council.

(c) **Harmony Between Labor and Capital.**

Thirdly, there is the great group of labour questions, on the proper solution of which the whole social structure depends. In this connection it is necessary to remember two points of surpassing importance. The Labour Problem, as it is commonly called, is not simply or even mainly a matter of wages or wage adjustments. It is much rather a question of a consciously felt want of knowledge. The community recognizes the worth and ability of Labour. But Labour feels that many sides of modern industry are a closed book to it. Questions of finance and book-keeping, the whole commercial and technical side of industry, are bey-

ond its ken. Hence the indignant protests of the whole modern Labour movement. It feels itself in the grip of impersonal forces which act blindly, but which it cannot control. Now the individual manufacturer may have a difficulty in acting with labour in such matters in his own individual business. But by giving representatives of Labour seats on the Council Board of an industry the situation will be radically changed. Knowledge of the general conditions of trade, the varying costs of raw materials, the constantly recurring difficulties about finance and transport in backward foreign markets — these are just a few illustrations of the thousand and one difficulties of the modern manufacturer which Labour will begin to know and appreciate.

Industrial Councils Not Wage Boards Under a New Name.

But again, if the individualistic manufacturer must widen his range of vision to the conception of a trade as a whole, in which Labour is interested jointly with Capital, the idea that an Industrial Council is a new name for a kind of glorified Conciliation Board or Wages Board must also completely disappear. Its objects are not limited to the settlement of wage differences. Nothing need be said against Conciliation Boards or similar bodies. They have done useful service in the past, and they are capable of doing valuable work in the future in a selected number of industries. But today, to use a famous phrase of Burke, men's minds are being irresistibly drawn to a higher conception of the part which Labour and Capital can jointly play in shaping and controlling the industry of the future. In this connection it is very important to remember the sub-headings in Section 16 of the Whitley Report, which suggest for special mention as falling to Industrial Councils such subjects as the better utilization of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople, and of inventions and improvements designed by workpeople, and the co-operation of the workpeople in carrying into effect new ideas about the organization of industry and the improvement of processes.

An Industry Not a Collection of Separate Firms.

All this is important because an industry must be considered, as has already been said, as something more than a collection of individual firms. Each industry has a common viewpoint, common problems, common interests. The manufacturer A. B. may have his special interests, which differ from those of C. D., E. F., or G. H. But besides these special interests of individual concerns there are involved in every industry common objects or interests, and in the discussion of these general problems in a large and statesmanlike way, Labour is as much concerned as Capital. Indeed, it will probably surprise many employers when they first sit round a Council Board to discuss with representatives of Labour the fundamental problems of the industry, to discover how many ideas of substantial worth Labour has to contribute towards their solution.

The Corporate Interest of Industry in its Special Problems.

The modern industrial problem is too big for the small employers; it is too big for the larger employers, or even for all employers together. It demands a co-operative effort on the part of the best brains of Labour as well as of Capital and Management. Such ability will best be put at the service of industry through the establishment of Industrial Councils in every industry.

It only remains, in conclusion, to point out the supreme advantages to be gained by creating these Councils.

Improved Social Status of the Industrial Classes.

(1) They will eliminate the false distinction so often drawn between trade and the professions. Lawyers, doctors, and clergymen, through their own organizations or guilds, have a definite professional status conferred on them by the State and recognized by the general community, in virtue of which they all feel that in doing their ordinary work they are rendering an important national service. Trade is also a national service. By organizing industries in great National Councils, not only manufacturers and traders, but the artisans, and all ranks in industry would feel that they, too, were professional men, per-

forming work of national moment. To arouse a real *esprit de corps* in industry will be a substantial national gain.

The Place of Industry in the Community.

(2) An industry knows its own needs better than any Government or outside body. By setting up Industrial Councils we shall make each industry, as it were, a self-conscious body, without in the least detracting from the overriding authority of the State. Every industry will then for the first time have a recognized place in the body politic. In this way also a new spirit will be created in each trade. It will have a new sense of its own value and importance in each trade. It will have a new sense of its own value and importance to the community.

The Advantage of Industrial Councils To the State.

(3) The State will also have a definite advantage, inasmuch as for the first time it will have a single organization to approach in all matters relating to a particular industry. Hitherto no one body has been in a position to voice the needs or desires of a given trade. The new arrangement will tend to greater simplification and ease of working. The old multiplication of authorities will disappear, and the adjustment of questions between an industry and the Government of the day will be more smoothly and rapidly effected.

The Self-Development of Each Industry.

(4) An Industrial Council will prepare the way for the self-development of each industry. Any persons with new ideas regarding the better working of trade, better methods of production, new processes, will have a responsible body to whom they can go. The industry as a whole will have an organ for its own improvement. And the control of that organ will rest not in the hands of a Government Department, but with the members of the trade itself. Each industry will in a sense run itself and be responsible for its adaptation to the requirements of each new situation that arises.

A Stepping Stone Towards Industrial Reconstruction.

(5) Last, but by no means least, the establishment of Industrial Councils will go a long way to reconcile the divergent interests of Labour and Capital. It will be the death blow of the persistent fallacy that Labour is only interested in wages and Capital in profits. The employer and the wage-earner will meet at the Council Board not merely to discuss an increase or reduction of a half-penny an hour in the remuneration of Labour, but to consider the development and the needs of the whole industry. Both sides in the age-long economic conflict have an equal interest in the growth of their industry and in the discussion of its varied problems. What the future relationships between Capital and Labour may be, time alone can decide. Meantime the opportunity is open for an immense stride forward. Let us seize it at once and work with both hands earnestly to lay the foundations of a new era in the wonderful history of British trade and Industry.

1.—Letter addressed by the Minister of Labour to the leading Employers' Associations and Trade Unions.

MINISTRY OF LABOR,
Montagu House,
Whitehall, S.W. 1.
20th October, 1917.

SIR,

In July last a circular letter was addressed by the Ministry of Labour to all the principal Employers' Associations and Trade Unions asking for their views on the proposals made in the Report of the Whitley Committee on Joint Standing Industrial Councils, a further copy of which is enclosed. As a result of the replies which have been received from a large number of Employers' organizations and Trade Unions generally favouring the adoption of those proposals, the War Cabinet have decided to adopt the Report as part of the policy which they hope to see carried into effect in the field of industrial reconstruction.

In order that the precise effect of this decision may not be misunderstood, I desire to draw attention to one or two points which have been raised in the communications made to the Ministry on the subject, and on which some misap-

prehesion appears to exist in some quarters.

In the first place, fears have been expressed that the proposal to set up Industrial Councils indicates an intention to introduce an element of State interference which has hitherto not existed in industry. This is not the case. The formation and constitution of the Councils must be principally the work of the industries themselves. Although, for reasons which will be explained later, the Government are very anxious that such Councils should be established in all the well-organized industries with as little delay as possible, they fully realize that the success of the scheme must depend upon a general agreement among the various organizations within a given industry and a clearly expressed demand for the creation of a Council. Moreover, when formed, the Councils would be independent bodies electing their own officers and free to determine their own functions and procedure with reference to the peculiar needs of each trade. In fact, they would be autonomous bodies, and they would, in effect, make possible a larger degree of self-government in industry than exists to-day.

Secondly, the Report has been interpreted as meaning that the general constitution which it suggests should be applied without modification to each industry. This is entirely contrary to the view of the Government on the matter. To anyone with a knowledge of the diverse kinds of machinery already in operation, and the varying geographical and industrial conditions which affect different industries it will be obvious that no rigid scheme can be applied to all of them. Each industry must therefore adopt the proposals made in the Report as may seem most suitable to its own needs. In some industries, for instance, it may be considered by both employers and employed that a system of Works Committees is unnecessary owing to the perfection of the arrangements already in operation for dealing with the difficulties arising in particular works between the management and the trade union officials. In others, Works Committees have done very valuable work where they have been introduced and their extension on agreed lines deserves every encouragement. Again, in industries which are largely based on district organizations it will probably be found

desirable to assign more important functions to the District Councils than would be the case in trades which are more completely centralized in national bodies. All these questions will have to be threshed out by the industries themselves and settled in harmony with their particular needs.

Thirdly, it should be made clear that representation on the Industrial Councils is intended to be on the basis of existing organizations among employers and workmen concerned in each industry, although it will, of course, be open to the Councils, when formed, to grant representation to any new bodies which may come into existence and which may be entitled to representation. The authority, and consequently the usefulness of the Councils will depend entirely on the extent to which they represent the different interests and enjoy the wholehearted support of the existing organizations, and it is therefore desirable that representation should be determined on as broad a basis as possible.

Lastly, it has been suggested that the scheme is intended to promote compulsory arbitration. This is certainly not the case. Whatever agreements may be made for dealing with disputes must be left to the industry itself to frame, and their efficacy must depend upon the voluntary co-operation of the organizations concerned in carrying them out.

I should now like to explain some of the reasons which have made the Government anxious to see Industrial Councils established as soon as possible in the organized trades. The experience of the war has shown the need for frequent consultation between the Government and the chosen representatives of both employers and workmen on vital questions concerning those industries which have been most affected by war conditions. In some instances different Government Departments have approached different organizations in the same industry, and in many cases the absence of joint representative bodies which can speak for their industries as a whole and voice the joint opinion of employers and workmen, has been found to render negotiations much more difficult than they would otherwise have been. The case of the cotton trade, where the industry is being regulated during a very difficult time by a Joint Board of Con-

trol, indicates how greatly the task of the State can be alleviated by a self-governing body capable of taking charge of the interests of the whole industry. The problems of the period of transition and reconstruction will not be less difficult than those which the war has created, and the Government accordingly feel that the task of rebuilding the social and economic fabric on a broader and surer foundation will be rendered much easier if in the organized trades there exist representative bodies to which the various questions of difficulty can be referred for consideration and advice as they arise. There are a number of such questions on which the Government will need the united and considered opinion of each large industry, such as the demobilization of the Forces, the resettlement of munition workers in civil industries, apprenticeship (especially where interrupted by war service), the training and employment of disabled soldiers, and the control of raw materials; and the more it is able to avail itself of such an opinion the more satisfactory and stable the solution of these questions is likely to be.

Further, it will be necessary in the national interest to ensure a settlement of the more permanent questions which have caused differences between employers and employed in the past, on such a basis as to prevent the occurrence of disputes and of serious stoppages in the difficult period during which the problems just referred to will have to be solved. It is felt that this object can only be secured by the existence of permanent bodies on the lines suggested by the Whitley Report, which will be capable not merely of dealing with disputes when they arise, but of settling the big questions at issue so far as possible on such a basis as to prevent serious conflicts arising at all.

The above statement of the functions of the Councils is not intended to be exhaustive, but only to indicate some of the more immediate questions which they will be called upon to deal with when set up. Their general objects are described in the words of the Report as being "to offer to workpeople the means of attaining improved conditions of employment and a higher standard of comfort generally, and involve the enlistment of their active and continuous co-operation in the promotion of industry."

Some further specific questions, which the Councils might consider, were indicated by the Committee in paragraph 16 of the Report, and it will be for the Councils themselves to determine what matters they shall deal with. Further, such Councils would obviously be the suitable bodies to make representations to the Government as to legislation, which they think would be of advantage to their industry.

In order, therefore, that the Councils may be able to fulfil the duties which they will be asked to undertake, and that they may have the requisite status for doing so, the Government desire it to be understood that the Councils will be recognized as the official standing Consultative Committees to the Government on all future questions affecting the industries which they represent, and that they will be the normal channel through which the opinion and experience of an industry will be sought on all questions with which the industry is concerned. It will be seen, therefore, that it is intended that Industrial Councils should play a definite and permanent part in the economic life of the country, and the Government feels that it can rely on both employers and workmen to co-operate in order to make that part a worthy one.

I hope, therefore, that you will take this letter as a formal request to your organization on the part of the Government to consider the question of carrying out the recommendations of the Report so far as they are applicable to your industry. The Ministry of Labour will be willing to give every assistance in its power in the establishment of Industrial Councils, and will be glad to receive suggestions as to the way in which it can be given most effectively. In particular, it will be ready to assist in the convening of representative conferences to discuss the establishment of Councils, to provide secretarial assistance and to be represented, if desired, in a consultative capacity at the preliminary meetings. The Ministry will be glad to be kept informed of any progress made in the direction of forming Councils. Although the scheme is only intended, and indeed can only be applied, in trades which are well organized on both sides, I would point out that it rests with those trades which do not at present possess a sufficient organization to

bring it about if they desire to apply it to themselves.

In conclusion, I would again emphasize the pressing need for the representative organizations of employers and workpeople to come together in the organized trades and to prepare themselves for the problems of reconstruction by forming Councils competent to deal with them. The Government trust that they will approach these problems not as two opposing forces each bent on getting as much and giving as little as can be contrived, but as forces having a common interest in working together for the welfare of their industry, not merely for the sake of those concerned in it, but also for the sake of the nation which depends so largely on its industries for its well-being. If the spirit which has enabled all classes to overcome by willing co-operation the innumerable dangers and difficulties which have beset us during the war is applied to the problems of Reconstruction, I am convinced that they can be solved in a way which lay the foundation of the future prosperity of the country and of those engaged in its great industries.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. H. ROBERTS.

INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS REPORT

of the

Reconstruction Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed.

The Committee consisted of the following members:—

The Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P.,
Chairman. (Chairman of Committees,
House of Commons.)

Mr. F. S. Button (formerly Member of
Executive Council, Amalgamated So-
ciety of Engineers).

Sir G. J. Carter, K. B. E. (Chairman,
Shipbuilding Employers' Federation).

Professor S. J. Chapman, C. B. E. (Pro-
fessor of Political Economy, Univer-
sity of Manchester).

Sir Gilbert Claughton, Bart. (Chairman,
London and North Western Railway
Company).

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P. (President, Na-
tional Union of General Workers).

Mr. J. A. Hobson.

Miss Suzan Lawrence (Member of Lon-
don County Council and Member of
the Executive Committee of the Wo-
men's Trade Union League).

Mr. J. J. Mallon (Secretary, National
Anti-Sweating League).

Sir Thomas A. Ratcliffe-Ellis (Secretary,
Mining Association of Great Britain).

Mr. Robert Smillie (President, Miners'
Federation of Great Britain).

Mr. Allan M. Smith (Chairman, En-
gineering Employers' Federation).

Miss Mona Wilson (National Health In-
surance Commissioner).

Mr. H. J. WILSON,

Ministry of Labour,

Mr. ARTHUR GREENWOOD,

Secretaries.

To the Right Honourable D. LLOYD
GEORGE, Prime Minister.

SIR,

We have the honour to submit the
following Interim Report on Joint
Standing Industrial Councils.

2. The terms of reference to the Sub-
Committee are:—

“(1) To make and consider sug-
gestions for securing a permanent im-
provement in the relations between
employers and workmen.

“(2) To recommend means for
securing that industrial conditions af-
fecting the relations between employ-
ers and workmen shall be systematical-
ly reviewed by those concerned with
a view to improving conditions in the
future.”

3. After a general consideration of
our duties in relation to the matters re-
ferred to us, we decided first to address
ourselves to the problem of establishing
permanently improved relations between
employers and employed in the main
industries of the country, in which there
exist representative organizations on
both sides. The present report accord-
ingly deals more especially with these
trades. We are proceeding with the con-
sideration of the problems connected
with the industries which are less well
organized.

4. We appreciate that under the
pressure of the war both employers and
workpeople and their organizations are
very much pre-occupied, but, notwith-
standing, we believe it to be of the high-
est importance that our proposals should
be put before those concerned without

delay, so that employers and employed may meet in the near future and discuss the problems before them.

5. The circumstances of the present time are admitted on all sides to offer a great opportunity for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed, while failure to utilise the opportunity may involve the nation in grave industrial difficulties at the end of the war.

It is generally allowed that the war almost enforced some reconstruction of industry, and in considering the subjects referred to us we have kept in view the need for securing in the development of reconstruction the largest possible measure of co-operation between employers and employed.

In the interests of the community it is vital that after the war the co-operation of all classes, established during the war, should continue, and more especially with regard to the relations between employers and employed. For securing improvement in the latter, it is essential that any proposals put forward should offer to workpeople the means of attaining improved conditions of employment and a higher standard of comfort generally, and involve the enlistment of their active and continuous co-operation in the promotion of industry.

To this end, the establishment for each industry of an organization, representative of employers and workpeople, and may affect the relations between them. It is clear that industrial conditions will need careful handling if grave difficulties and strained relations are to be avoided after the war has ended. The precise nature of the problems to be faced naturally varies from industry to industry, and even from branch to branch within the same industry. Their treatment consequently will need an intimate knowledge of the facts and circumstances of each trade, and such knowledge is to be found only among those directly connected with the trade.

7. With a view to providing means for carrying out the policy outlined above, we recommend that His Majesty's Government should propose without delay to the various associations of employers and employed the formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in

the several industries, where they do not already exist, composed of representatives of employers and employed, regard being paid to the various sections of the industry and the various classes of labour engaged.

8. The appointment of a chairman or Chairmen should, we think, be left to the Council who may decide that these should be—

(1) A Chairman for each side of the Council;

(2) A Chairman and Vice-Chairman selected from the members of the Council (one from each side of the Council);

(3) A Chairman chosen by the Council from independent persons outside the industry; or

(4) A Chairman nominated by such person or authority as the Council may determine or, failing agreement, by the Government.

9. The Council should meet at regular and frequent intervals.

10. The objects to which the consideration of the Councils should be directed should be appropriate matters affecting the several industries and particularly the establishment of a closer co-operation between employers and employed. Questions connected with demobilization will call for early attention.

11. One of the chief factors in the problem, as it at first presents itself, consists of the guarantees given by the Government, with Parliamentary sanction, and the various undertakings entered into by employers, to restore the Trade Union rules and customs suspended during the war. While this does not mean that all the lessons learnt during the war should be ignored, it does mean that the definite co-operation and acquiescence by both employers and employed must be a condition of any setting aside of these guarantees or undertakings, and that, if new arrangements are to be reached, in themselves more satisfactory to all parties but not in strict accordance with the guarantees, they must be the joint work of employers and employed.

12. The matters to be considered by the Councils must inevitably differ widely from industry to industry, as different circumstances and conditions call for different treatment, but we are of opinion that the suggestions set forth

below ought to be taken into account, subject to such modification in each case as may serve to adapt them to the needs of the various industries.

13. In the well-organized industries, one of the first questions to be considered should be the establishment of local and works organizations to supplement and make more effective the work of the central bodies. It is not enough to secure co-operation at the centre between the national organizations; it is equally necessary to enlist the activity and support of employers and employed in the districts and in individual establishments. The National Industrial Council should not be regarded as complete in itself; what is needed is a triple organization—in the workshops, the districts, and nationally. Moreover, it is essential that the organization at each of these three stages should proceed on a common principle, and that the greatest measure of common action between them should be secured.

14. With this end in view, we are of opinion that the following proposals should be laid before the National Industrial Councils:—

- (a) That District Councils, representative of the Trades Union and of the Employers' Association in the industry, should be created, or developed out of the existing machinery for negotiation in the various trades.
- (b) That Works Committees, representative of the management and of the workers employed, should be instituted in particular works to act in close co-operation with the district and national machinery.

As it is of the highest importance that the scheme making provision for these Committees should be such as to secure the support of the Trade Unions and Employers' Associations concerned, its design should be a matter for agreement between these organizations.

Just as regular meetings and continuity of co-operation are essential in the case of the National Industrial Councils, so they seem to be necessary in the case of the district and works organizations. The object is to secure co-operation by granting to workpeople a greater share in the consideration of matters affecting their industry, and this can only

be achieved by keeping employers and workpeople in constant touch.

15. The respective functions of Works Committees, District Councils, and National Councils will no doubt require to be determined separately in accordance with the varying conditions of different industries. Care will need to be taken in each case to delimit accurately their respective functions, in order to avoid overlapping and resulting friction. For instance, where conditions of employment are determined by national agreements, the District Councils or Works Committees should not be allowed to contract out of conditions so laid down, nor, where conditions are determined by local agreements, should such power be allowed to Works Committees.

16. Among the questions with which it is suggested that the National Councils should deal or allocate to District Councils or Works Committees the following may be selected for special mention:—

(i) The better utilization of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople.

(ii) Means for securing to the workpeople a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their work is carried on.

(iii) The settlement of the general principles governing the conditions of employment, including the methods of fixing, paying, and readjusting wages, having regard to the need for securing to the workpeople a share in the increased prosperity of the industry.

(iv) The establishment of regular methods of negotiation for issues arising between employers and workpeople, with a view both to the prevention of differences, and to their better adjustment when they appear.

(v) Means of ensuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings and employment, without undue restriction upon change of occupation or employer.

(iv) Methods of fixing and adjusting earnings, piecework prices, &c., and of dealing with the many difficulties which arise with regard to the method and amount of payment apart from the fixing of general standard rates, which are already covered by paragraph (iii).

(vii) Technical education and trainings.

(viii) Industrial research and the full utilization of its results.

(ix) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilization of inventions and improvement designed by workpeople, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.

(x) Improvements of processes, machinery and organization and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments, with special reference to co-operation in carrying new ideas into effect and full consideration of the workpeople's point of view in relation to them.

(xi) Proposed legislation affecting the industry.

17. The methods by which the functions of the proposed Councils should be co-related to those of joint bodies in the different districts, must necessarily vary according to the trade. It may, therefore, be the best policy to leave it to the trades themselves to formulate schemes suitable to their special circumstances, it being understood that it is essential to secure in each industry the fullest measure of co-operation between employers and employed, both generally, through the National Councils, and specifically, through district Committees and workshop Committees:

18. It would seem advisable that the Government should put the proposals relating to National Industrial Councils before the employers' and workpeople's associations and request them to adopt such measures as are needful for their establishment where they do not already exist. Suitable steps should also be taken, at the proper time, to put the matter before the general public.

19. In forwarding the proposals to the parties concerned, we think the Government should offer to be represented in an advisory capacity at the preliminary meetings of a Council, if the parties so desire. We are also of opinion that the Government should undertake to supply to the various Councils such information on industrial subjects as may be available and likely to prove of value.

20. It has been suggested that means must be devised to safeguard the interests of the community against possible

action of an anti-social character on the part of the Councils. We have, however, here assumed that the Councils, in their work of promoting the interests of their own industries, will have regard for the National interest. If they fulfil their functions they will be the best builders of national prosperity. The State never parts with its inherent over-riding power, but such power may be least needed when least obtruded.

21. It appears to us that it may be desirable at some later stage for the State to give the sanction of law to agreements made by the Councils, but the initiative in this direction should come from the Councils themselves.

22. The plans sketched in the foregoing paragraphs are applicable in the form in which they are given only to industries in which there are responsible associations of employers and workpeople which can claim to be fairly representative. The case of the less well-organized trades or sections of a trade necessarily needs further consideration. We hope to be in a position shortly to put forward recommendations that will prepare the way for the active utilization of these trades of the same practical co-operation as is foreshadowed in the proposals made above for the more highly-organized trades.

23. It may be desirable to state here our considered opinion that an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed is that there should be adequate organization on the part of both employers and workpeople. The proposals outlined for joint co-operation throughout the several industries depend for their ultimate success upon there being such organization on both sides; and such organization is necessary to provide means whereby the arrangements and agreements made for the industry may be effectively carried out.

24. We have thought it well to refrain from making suggestions or offering opinions with regard to such matters as profit-sharing, co-partnership, or particular systems of wages, &c. It would be impracticable for us to make any useful general recommendations on such matters, having regard to the varying conditions in different trades. We are convinced, moreover, that a permanent

improvement in the relations between employers and employed must be founded upon something other than a cash basis. What is wanted is that the work-people should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected.

25. The schemes recommended in this Report are intended not merely for the treatment of industrial problems when they have become acute, but also, and more especially, to prevent their becoming acute. We believe that regular meetings to discuss industrial questions, apart from and prior to any differences with regard to them that may have begun to cause friction, will materially reduce the number of occasions on which, in the view of either employers or employed, it is necessary to contemplate recourse to a stoppage of work.

26. We venture to hope that representative men in each industry, with pride in their calling and care for its place as a contributor to the national well-being, will come together in the manner here suggested, and apply themselves to promoting industrial harmony and efficiency and removing the obstacles that have hitherto stood in the way.

We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servants,

J. H. WHITLEY, *Chairman.*

F. S. BUTTON.

GEO. J. CARTER.

S. J. CHAPMAN.

G. H. CLAUGHTON.

J. R. CLYNES.

J. A. HOBSON.

A. SUSAN LAWRENCE.

J. J. MALLON.

THOS. R. RATCLIFFE-ELLIS.

ROBERT SMILLIE.

MONA WILSON.

H. J. WILSON,

ARTHUR GREENWOOD,

Secretaries.

8th March, 1917.

APPENDIX.

The following questions were addressed by the Reconstruction Committee to the Sub-Committee on the relations between Employers and Employed in order to make clear certain points which appeared to call for further elu-

cidation. The answers given are sub-joined.

Q. 1. In what classes of Industries does the Interim Report propose that Industrial Councils shall be established? What basis of classification has the Sub-Committee in view?

A. 1. It has been suggested that, for the purpose of considering the establishment of Industrial Councils, or other bodies designed to assist in the improvement of relations between employers and employed, the various industries should be grouped into three classes—(a) industries in which organization on the part of employers and employed is sufficiently developed to render the Councils representative; (b) industries in which either as regards employers and employed, or both, the degree of organization, though considerable, is less marked than in (a) and is insufficient to be regarded as representative; and (c) industries in which organization is so imperfect, either as regards employers or employed, or both, that no Association can be said adequately to represent those engaged in the trade.

It will be clear that an analysis of industries will show a number which are on the border lines between these groups, and special consideration will have to be given to such trades. So far as groups (a) and (c) are concerned, a fairly large number of trades can readily be assigned to them; group (b) is necessarily more indeterminate.

For trades in group (a) the Committee have proposed the establishment of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in the several trades. In dealing with the various industries it may be necessary to consider specially the case of parts of industries in group (a) where organization is not fully developed.

Q. 2. Is the machinery proposed intended to be in addition to or in substitution for existing machinery? Is it proposed that existing machinery should be superseded? By "existing machinery" is meant Conciliation Boards and all other organizations for joint conference and discussion between Employers and Employed.

A. 2. In most organized trades there already existed joint bodies for particular purposes. It is not proposed that the Industrial Councils should necessarily disturb these existing bodies.

A council would be free, if it chose and if the bodies concerned approved to merge existing Committees, &c., in the Council or to link them with the Council as Sub-Committees.

Q. 3. Is it understood that membership of the Councils is to be confined to representatives elected by Employers' Associations and Trade Unions? What is the view of the Sub-Committee regarding the entry of new organizations established after the Councils have been set up?

A. 3. It is intended that the Councils should be composed only of representatives of Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, and that new organizations should be admitted only with the approval of the particular side of the Council of which the organization would form a part.

Q. 4 (a) Is it intended that decisions reached by the Councils shall be binding upon the bodies comprising them? If so, is such binding effect to be conditional upon the consent of each Employers' Association or Trade Union affected?

A. 4. (a) It is contemplated that agreements reached by Industrial Councils should (whilst not, of course, possessing the binding force of law) carry with them the same obligation of observance as exists in the case of other agreements between Employers' Associations and Trade Unions. A Council, being on its workmen's side based on the Trade Unions concerned in the industry, its powers or authority could only be such as the constituent Trade Unions freely agreed to.

Q. 4 (b) In particular, is it intended that all pledges given either by the Government or employers for the restoration of Trade Union rules and practices after the war shall be redeemed without qualification unless the particular Trade Union concerned agrees to alteration; or on the contrary, that the Industrial Council shall have power to decide such question by a majority vote of the workmen's representatives from all the Trade Unions in the industry?

A. 4 (b) It is clearly intended that all pledges relating to the restoration of Trade Union rules shall be redeemed without qualification unless the particular Trade Union concerned agrees to alteration; and it is not intended that

the Council shall have power to decide such questions by a majority vote of the workmen's representatives from all the Trade Unions in the industry.

Report for the Three Months ending March 31st, 1918.

The I.C.R. had its origin in a manifesto which appeared in the general Press on October 10th, 1917, and which was signed by a large number of officers of Trade Associations, editors of Trade Papers, and other persons interested in the movement for industrial Self-Government.

The reception by the Press generally of this manifesto was so enthusiastic that a meeting of the signatories was held at the Savoy Hotel on November 8th, in order to consider how best the work might be continued. At this meeting Sir Wilfrid Stokes, K.B.E., was invited to preside, and after an interesting and instructive discussion it was decided that a propagandist organisation should be established and a Committee was appointed to draft a constitution.

On December 11th, this Committee presented its report to a meeting at the Holborn Restaurant, which the present constitution of the I.R.C. was adopted and the Executive Committee elected.

The Committee immediately arranged for the publication of a pamphlet setting out the case for Joint Standing Industrial Councils. This pamphlet, entitled "Trade Parliament," was offered to Trade Societies for circulation, and the first edition of 5,000 copies was exhausted within a few days. Second and third editions, making a total of 15,000 copies, have since been used, and a fourth edition is in the press—a clear proof of the keen interest taken in the subject.

Arrangements have also been made for the publication of a verbatim report of a speech by the Right Hon. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Minister of Labour, made at the I.R.C. meeting in Manchester. There is also in preparation a "Handbook for Speakers," which will, no doubt, prove of great value.

The committee are of the opinion that extremely valuable work can be done by the distribution of such literature,

if sufficient funds for the purpose are forthcoming.

The first meeting of the I.R.C. was held on February 15th under the auspices of the Lord Mayor of London, in the Guildhall Council Chamber, and was an unqualified success. The seating accommodation was limited to 450, but a hall five times the size could easily have been filled. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended in state, and addresses were delivered by the Right Hon. Christopher Addison, M.P., Minister of Reconstruction, the Right Hon. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Minister of Labour, the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P., the Right Hon. Lord Burnham, C.H., Mr. Ernest Bevin of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union, Sir Wilfrid Stokes, K.B.E., Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn, Sir Herbert Nield, K.C., M.P., and Dr. William Garnett; the audience consisting of selected representatives of Trade Unions and Trade Associations—many delegations from the provinces being present on the occasion.

On January 16th Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn delivered a lecture on the Whitley Report in the Municipal Buildings, Bristol, the Lord Mayor presiding.

On March 13th a public meeting was held in Manchester, also under civic auspices, the Lord Mayor, Sir Alexander Porter, presiding, and the Town Hall being placed at our disposal by the Manchester Corporation. In this case also the applications for tickets far exceeded the accommodation. The thanks of the Committee are specially due to Alderman Walker, for kindly undertaking the responsibility for the local arrangements. The speeches of the Right Hon. G. H. Roberts and Sir William McCormick, chief of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, were of particular value and greatly appreciated.

On the 21st March, at the invitation of the Development Committee of the Nottingham Corporation, Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn delivered a lecture at the University College, Nottingham, the arrangements being made by the Nottingham Corporation, and the audience consisting of delegates from the local Trade Associations and Workers' Unions.

On April 3rd the Lord Provost of

Edinburgh presided at a highly successful meeting in the Assembly Hall, when the Right Hon. Christopher Addison and Lord Balfour of Burleigh were the principal speakers.

The I.R.C. is visiting Birmingham early in May, when a meeting will be held in the Town Hall, under the auspices of the Lord Mayor, the leading speaker again being the Right Hon. Christopher Addison; and it is probable that similar meetings will be held in Liverpool, Sheffield, and Norwich in the near future.

In addition to the meetings referred to, the I.R.C. have supplied speakers for the purpose of addressing other organizations, and in this respect the Committee are particularly indebted to Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn, Dr. William Garnett, Major Sydney Pascall, Mr. Emil Davies, and Mr. Frank Elliott. There is great scope for propaganda work of this kind in connection with such bodies as local Industrial Reconstruction Associations, Social Welfare Committees, National Brotherhood Councils, Trade Congresses, and Federations, and the Committee hope to extend this branch of the Council's activities.

The President and Chairman have had a conference with the officers of the Federation of British Industries; the Chairman and Hon. Secretary with the Manufacturers' Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, and the Chairman and Sir Herbert Nield, K.C., M.P., with the Right Hon. F. Huth Jackson and the two Secretaries of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed. The President and Chairman also had a satisfactory interview with the Engineering Employers' Federation, and are in touch with the Industrial League; the desire being to establish relations with all such bodies as are specially interested in the work of Industrial Reconstruction.

The relations of the I.R.C. with departments of the Government specially interested in trade organization are very satisfactory. Both the Minister of Reconstruction and the Minister of Labor, as indicated above, have been good enough to deliver important addresses at our meetings, and have ex-

paganda work undertaken by the Council.

The Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P., Chairman of the Committee on the Relations between Employers and Employed, has also expressed his satisfaction with regard to the work we are doing on behalf of the Whitley Report.

There is no doubt as to the urgent need for educational work, both amongst employers and employed, and there is hardly any limit to the amount of such work that can be done if adequate financial and personal support is forthcoming. The Committee are, therefore, very anxious to increase the number of subscribing members of the Council and the number of lecturers and speakers who are willing to explain the principles of the Whitley Report.

A leading article by Sir Wilfrid Stokes appeared in "The Evening Standard" of February 14th, and the Chairman contributed a column to the "Manchester City News" on the date of the Manchester meeting.

The Committee wish to express their appreciation of the services of the Press generally, for almost every paragraph and announcement sent out has been duly published.

The necessity for the establishment of branch organizations is pressed upon us, and it is hoped that developments in this direction may presently be undertaken.

The following Sub-Committees have been appointed:—

1. MEETINGS.

To arrange public meetings of the Council.

Sir Wilfrid Stokes, K.B.E.,
President.

Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn,
Chairman.

Mr. Frank H. Elliott,
Hon. Secretary.

2. MEMBERS AND FINANCES.

To secure members and subscriptions.

Dr. W. Ripper, C.H.,
Hon. Treasurer.

Mr. Walter Birch, J.P.
Mr. Frank H. Elliott.

3. LITERATURE AND NEWSPAPER PROPAGANDA.

To publish pamphlets and leaflets, etc.

M. J. L. Garvin.

Mr. Emil Davies.

Dr. William Garnett.

Mr. Otto Thomas.

4. SPEAKERS.

To arrange for addresses by members of the I.R.C. at meetings of other organizations.

Mr. D. T. Holmes, M.P.

Mr. T. B. Johnston.

Mr. Edgar P. Chance, J.P.

5. CONSTITUTION.

Sir Herbert Nield, K.C., M.P.

Mr. F. Kimber Bull,

Hon. Solicitor.

There can be no doubt that the Industrial Reconstruction Council has, so far, justified to the full the highest hopes of its founders, and that as a result of its first three months' work the principle of self-government for industry, upon the establishment of which our future prosperity so largely depends, is beginning to be better understood.

ERNEST J. P. BENN,

Chairman.

8, Bouverie Street, London, E.C.4.

April, 1918.

SECOND REPORT ON JOINT STANDING INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

To the Right Honourable D. Lloyd George, M.P., Prime Minister.

Sir,

Following the proposals made in our first Report, we have now the honour to present further recommendations dealing with industries in which organisation on the part of employers and employed is less completely established than in the industries covered by the previous Report, and with industries in which such organisation is weak or non-existent.

2. Before commencing the examination of these industries the Committee came to the conclusion that it would materially assist their enquiries if they could have the direct advantage of the knowledge and experience of some representative employers who were con-

needed with industries of the kind with which the Committee were about to deal; and it was arranged, with your approval, that Sir Maurice Levy, Mr. F. N. Hepworth, Mr. W. Hill, and Mr. D. R. H. Williams should be appointed to act with the Committee while these industries were under consideration. This arrangement made it possible to release from attendance at the earlier meetings of the Committee Sir Gilbert Claughton, Sir T. Ratcliffe-Ellis, Sir George J. Carter, and Mr. Allan Smith, whose time is greatly occupied in other public work and whose experience is more particularly related to the organized trades covered by our former Report.

3. It is difficult to classify industries according to the degree of organization among employers and employed, but for convenience of consideration the industries of the country may be divided into three groups:—

Group A.—Consisting of industries in which organization on the part of employers and employed is sufficiently developed to render their respective associations representative of the great majority of those engaged in the industry. These are the industries which we had in mind in our first Interim Report.

Group B.—Comprising those industries in which, either as regards employers and employed, or both, the degree of organization, though considerable, is less marked than in Group A.

Group C.—Consisting of industries in which organization is so imperfect, either as regards employers or employed, or both, that no associations can be said adequately to represent those engaged in the industry.

The present Report is concerned with Groups B. and C.

4. So far as Groups A. and C. are concerned, a number of industries can be definitely assigned to them. Group B., however, is necessarily more indeterminate. Some of the industries in this group approach closely to industries in Group A., while others verge upon Group C. Further, most industries, in whatever class they may fall, possess a "tail", consisting of badly

organized areas, or sections of the industry. These facts we have borne in mind in formulating our further proposals.

5. So far as industries in Group B. are concerned, we are of opinion that the proposals of our First Report should, in their main lines, be applied to those which, on examination by the Ministry of Labour in consultation with the Associations concerned, are found to be relatively well organized. We suggest, however, that where in these industries a National Industrial Council is formed there should be appointed one or at most two official representatives to assist in the initiation of the Council, and continue after its establishment to act in an advisory capacity and serve as a link with the Government. We do not contemplate that a representative so appointed should be a member of the National Industrial Council, in the sense that he should have power, by a vote, to influence the decisions of the Council, but that he should attend its meetings and assist in any way which may be found acceptable to it. By so doing he would acquire a continuous knowledge of the conditions of the industry of which the Government could avail itself, and so avoid many mistakes that under present conditions are inevitable.

The question of the retention of the official representatives should be considered by the Councils in the light of experience gained when an adequate time has elapsed. We anticipate that in many cases their continued assistance will be found of value even after an industry has attained a high degree of organisation, but in no case should they remain except at the express wish of the Councils concerned.

6. It may be that in some Groups in B. industries in which a National Industrial Council is formed certain areas are well suited to the establishment of District Councils, while in other areas the organisation of employers or employed, or both, is too weak to be deemed representative. There appears to be no good reason why in the former areas there should not be District Industrial Councils, acting in conjunction with the National Industrial Councils, in accordance with the prin-

ciples formulated in the Committee's earlier report on the well-organized trades.

7. An examination of some of the industries coming within Group B. may show that there are some which, owing to the peculiarities of the trades and their geographical distribution, cannot at present be brought readily within the scope of the proposals for a National Industrial Council, though they may be quite well organized in two or more separate districts. In such a case we think there might well be formed one or more District Industrial Councils. We anticipate that in course of time the influence of the District Councils would be such that the industry would become suitable for the establishment of a National Industrial Council.

8. In the case of industries in Group B. (as in the industries covered by our first Report), we consider that the members of the National Councils and of the District Councils should be representatives of the Employers Associations and Trade Unions concerned. In the formation of the Councils, regard should be paid to the various sections of the industry and the various classes of labour engaged, and the representatives should include representatives of women's organizations. In view of the extent to which women are employed in these industries, we think the Trade Unions, when selecting their representatives for the Councils, should include a number of women among those who are appointed to be members.

9. It does not appear to us necessary or desirable to suggest any fixed standard of organization which should exist in any industry before a National Industrial Council should be established. The case of each industry will need to be considered separately, regard being paid to its particular circumstances and characteristics.

In the discussion of this matter, we have considered whether it would be feasible to indicate a percentage of organization which should be reached before a Council is formed, but, in view of the great diversity of circumstances in these industries and of the differing degrees to which the several sections of some of them are organized, we

have come to the conclusion that it is more desirable to leave the matter to the decision of the Ministry of Labour and the organizations concerned. Whatever theoretical standard may be contemplated, we think its application should not be restrictive in either direction.

10. The level of organization in industries in Group C. is such as to make the scheme we have proposed for National or District Industrial Councils inapplicable. To these industries the machinery of the Trade Boards Act might well be applied, pending the development of such degree of organization as would render feasible the establishment of a National Council or District Councils.

11. The Trade Boards Act was originally intended to secure the establishment of a minimum standard of wages in certain unorganized industries, but we consider that the Trade Boards should be regarded also as a means of supplying a regular machinery for negotiation and decision on certain groups of questions dealt with in other circumstances by collective bargaining between employers' organizations and trade unions.

In order that the Trade Boards Act may be of greater utility in connection with unorganized and badly organized industries or sections of industries, we consider that certain modifications are needed to enlarge the functions of the Trade Boards. We suggest that they should be empowered to deal not only with minimum rates of wages but with hours of labour and questions cognate to wages and hours. We are of opinion also that the functions of the Trade Boards should be extended so as to enable them to initiate and conduct enquiries on all matters affecting the industry or the section of the industry concerned.

12. If these proposals were adopted, there would be set up, in a number of industries or sections of industries Trade Boards (consisting of representatives of employers and employed, together with "appointed members") who would, within the scope of their functions, establish minimum standard rates and conditions applicable to the industry or section of the industry which they represented, and consider

systematically matters affecting the well-being of the industry.

13. Where an industry in Group C. becomes sufficiently organized to admit of the institution of National and District Councils, we consider that these bodies should be set up on the lines already indicated. Where it appears to a Trade Board that an Industrial Council should be appointed in the industry concerned, they should have power (a) to make application to the Minister of Labor asking him to approach the organizations of employers and employed, and (b) to suggest a scheme by which the representation of the workers' and employers' sides of the Trade Board could be secured.

14. Whether in industries in Group C. the establishment of Works Committees is to be recommended is a question which calls for very careful examination, and we have made the general question of Works Committees the subject of a separate Report.

15. We have already pointed out that most of the industries in Groups A. and B. have sections or areas in which the degree of organization among the employers and employed falls much below what is normal in the rest of the industry; and it appears to us desirable that the general body of employers and employed in any industry should have some means whereby they may bring the whole of the trade up to the standard of minimum conditions which have been agreed upon by a substantial majority of the industry. We therefore recommend that, on the application of a National Industrial Council sufficiently representative of an industry, the Minister of Labor should be empowered, if satisfied that the case is a suitable one, to make an Order either instituting for a section of the industry a Trade Board on which the National Industrial Council should be represented, or constituting the Industrial Council a Trade Board under the provisions of the Trade Boards Act. These proposals are not intended to limit, but to be in addition to, the powers at present held by the Ministry of Labor with regard to the establishment of Trade Boards in trades and industries where they are considered by the Ministry to be necessary.

16. We have already indicated paragraph 9 that the circumstances and characteristics of each of the several industries will need to be considered before it can be decided definitely how far any of our proposals can be applied in particular instances, and we have refrained from attempting to suggest any exact degree of organization which be requisite before a particular proposal could be applied. We think, however, that the suggestion we have made in the preceding paragraph to confer upon a National Industrial Council the powers of a Trade Board should be adopted only in those cases in which the Minister of Labor is satisfied that the Council represents a substantial majority of the industry concerned.

17. We are of opinion that most of the chief industries of the country could be brought under one or other of the schemes contained in this and the preceding Report. There would then be broadly two classes of industries in the country — industries with Industrial Councils and industries with Trade Boards.

18. In the former group the National Industrial Councils would be constituted either in the manner we have indicated in our first Report, carrying with them District Councils and Works Committees, or on the lines suggested in the present Report, "i.e.", each Council coming within the scope of this Report having associated with it one, or two, official representatives to act in an advisory capacity and as a link with the Government, in addition to the representatives of the employers and employed.

19. It should be noted that in the case of industries in which there is a National Industrial Council, Trade Boards might, in some instances, be associated with the Council in order to determine wages and hours, etc, in certain sections or areas. It is possible that in some allied trades, really forming part of the same industry, both sets of proposals might, in the first instance, be in operation side by side, one trade having its Industrial Council and the other its Trade Board. Where these circumstances obtain, we anticipate that the Trade Board would be

a stepping stone to the full Industrial Council status.

20. It may be useful to present a brief outline of the proposals which we have so far put forward:—

- (a) In the more highly organized industries (Group A.) we propose a triple organization of national, district, and workshop bodies, as outlined in our first Report.
- (b) In industries where there are representative associations of employers and employed, which, however, do not possess the authority of those in Group A. industries, we propose that the triple organization should be modified by attaching to each National Industrial Council one or at most two representatives of the Ministry of Labor to act in an advisory capacity.
- (c) In industries in both Groups A. and B., we propose that unorganized areas or branches of an industry should be provided on the application of the National Industrial Council and with the approval of the Ministry of Labor, with Trade Boards for such areas or branches, the Trade Boards being linked with the Industrial Council.
- (d) In industries having no adequate organization of employers or employed, we recommend that Trade Boards should be continued or established, and that these should, with the approval of the Ministry of Labor, be enabled to formulate a scheme for an Industrial Council, which might include in an advisory capacity the "appointed members" of the Trade Board.

21. It will be observed that the policy we recommend is based upon organization on the part of both employers and employed. Where this is adequate, as in Group A. industries, there is no need of external assistance. In Group B. industries, we think that the organizations concerned would be glad to have the services of an official representative who would act as adviser and as a link with the Government. In unorganized sections of both groups of industries we believe that a larger measure of Government assistance will be both desirable and acceptable, and

we have therefore suggested the adoption of the machinery of the Trade Boards Act in this connection. In Group C. industries we think that organization will be encouraged by the use of the powers under the Trade Boards Act, and where National Industrial Councils are set up we recommend that the "appointed members" of the Trade Board should act on the Councils in an advisory capacity. Briefly, our proposals are that the extent of State assistance should vary inversely with the degree of organization in industries.

22. We do not, however, regard Government assistance as an alternative to the organization of employers and employed. On the contrary, we regard it as a means of furthering the growth and development of such organization.

23. We think it advisable in this connection to repeat the following paragraph from our former Report:—

"It may be desirable to state here our considered opinion that an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed is that there should be adequate organization on the part of both employers and workpeople. The proposals outlined for joint co-operation throughout the several industries depend for their ultimate success upon there being such organization on both sides; and such organization is necessary also to provide means whereby the arrangements and agreements made for the industry may be effectively carried out."

24. In considering the scope of the matters referred to us we have formed the opinion that the expression "employers and workmen" in our reference covers State and Municipal authorities and their workpeople should take into consideration the proposals made in this and in our first Report, with a view to determining how far such proposals can suitably be adopted in their case.

We understand that the Ministry of Labor has up to the present circulated our first Report only to employers' and workpeople's associations in the ordinary private industries. We think, however, that both it and the present

Report should also be brought to the notice of State Departments and Municipal Authorities employing labor.

25. The proposals we have set forth above do not require legislation except on three points, namely, to provide—

- (1) That the Trade Boards shall have power, in addition to determining minimum rates of wages, to deal with hours of labor and questions cognate to wages and hours.
- (2) That the Trade Boards shall have power to initiate enquiries, and make proposals to the Government Departments concerned, on matters affecting the industrial conditions of the trade, as well as on questions of general interest to the industries concerned respectively.
- (3) That when an Industrial Council sufficiently representative of an industry makes application, the Minister of Labor shall have power, if satisfied that the case is a suitable one, to make an Order instituting for a section of the industry a Trade Board on which the Industrial Council shall be represented, or constituting the Council a Trade Board under the Trade Boards Act.

26. The proposals which we have made must necessarily be adopted to meet the varying needs and circumstances of different industries, and it is not anticipated that there will be uniformity in practice. Our recommendations are intended merely to set forth the main lines of development which we believe to be essential to ensure better relations between employers and employed. Their application to the several industries we can safely leave to those intimately concerned, with the conviction that the flexibility and adaptability of industrial organization which have been so large a factor in enabling industry to stand the enormous strain of the war will not fail the country when peace returns.

27. Other problems affecting the relations between employers and employed are engaging our attention, but we believe that, whatever further steps may be necessary to accomplish the object we have in view, the lines of development suggested in the present Report and the one which preceded it are

fundamental. We believe that in each industry there is a sufficiently large body of opinion willing to adopt the proposals we have made as a means of establishing a new relation in industry.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,*

J. H. WHITLEY, Chairman.

F. S. BUTTON

S. J. CHAPMAN

G. H. CLAUGHTON

J. R. CLYNES

F. N. HEPWORTH

WILFREID HILL

J. A. HOBSON

A. SUSAN LAWRENCE

MAURICE LEVY

J. J. MALLON

THOS. R. RATCLIFFE-ELLIS

ALLAN M. SMITH

D. R. H. WILLIAMS

MONA WILSON

H. J. WILSON

A. GREENWOOD

Secretaries.

18th October 1917.

*Sir G. J. Carter and Mr. R. Smillie were unable to attend any of the meetings at which this Report was considered and they therefore did not sign it.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT ON WORKS COMMITTEE

To the Right Honorable D. Lloyd George, M.P., Prime Minister.

Sir,

In our first and second Reports we have referred to the establishment of Works Committees,* representative of the management and of the workpeople, and appointed from within the works, as an essential part of the scheme of organization suggested to secure improved relations between employers and employed. The purpose of the present Report is to deal more fully with the proposal to institute such Committees.

2. Better relations between employers and their workpeople can best be arrived at by granting to the latter a greater share in the consideration of

*In the use of the term "Works Committees" in this Report it is not intended to use the word "works" in a technical sense; in such an industry as the Coal Trade, for example, the term "Pit Committees" would probably be the term used in adopting the scheme.

matters with which they are concerned. In every industry there are certain questions, such as rates of wages and hours of work, which should be settled by District or National agreement, and with any matter so settled no Works Committee should be allowed to interfere; but there are also many questions closely affecting daily life and comfort in, and the success of, the business, and affecting in no small degree efficiency of working, which are peculiar to the individual workshop or factory. The purpose of a Works Committee is to establish and maintain a system of co-operation in all these workshop matters.

3. We have throughout our recommendations proceeded upon the assumption that the greatest success is likely to be achieved by leaving to the representative bodies of employers and employed in each industry the maximum degree of freedom to settle for themselves the precise form of Council or Committee which should be adopted, having regard in each case to the particular circumstances of the trade; and, in accordance with this principle, we refrain from indicating any definite form of constitution for the Works Committees. Our proposals as a whole assume the existence of organizations of both employers and employed and a frank and full recognition of such organizations. Works Committees established otherwise than in accordance with these principles could not be regarded as a part of the scheme we have recommended, and might indeed be a hindrance to the development of the new relations in industry to which we look forward. We think the aim should be the complete and coherent organization of the trade on both sides, and Works Committees will be of value in so far as they contribute to such a result.

4. We are of opinion that the complete success of Works Committees necessarily depends largely upon the degree and efficiency of organization in the trade, and upon the extent to which the Committees can be linked up, through organizations that we have in mind, with the remainder of the scheme which we are proposing, viz., the District and National Councils. We think it important to state that the

success of the Works Committees would be very seriously interfered with if the idea existed that such Committees were used, or likely to be used, by employers in opposition to Trade Unionism. It is strongly felt that the setting up of Works Committees without the co-operation of the Trade Unions and the Employers' Associations in the trade or branch of trade concerned would stand in the way of the improved industrial relationships which in these Reports we are endeavouring to further.

5. In an industry where the workpeople are unorganized, or only very partially organized, there is a danger that Works Committees may be used, or thought to be used, in opposition to Trade Unionism. It is important that such fears should be guarded against in the initiation of any scheme. We look upon successful Works Committees as the broad base of the Industrial Structure which we have recommended, and as the means of enlisting the interest of the workers in the success both of the industry to which they are attached and of the workshop or factory where so much of their life is spent. These Committees should not, in constitution or methods of working, discourage Trade organizations.

6. Works Committees, in our opinion, should have regular meetings at fixed times, and, as a general rule, not less frequently than once a fortnight. They should always keep in the forefront the idea of constructive co-operation in the improvement of the industry to which they belong. Suggestions of all kinds tending to improvement should be frankly welcomed and freely discussed. Practical proposals should be examined from all points of view. There is an undeveloped asset of constructive ability—valuable alike to the industry and to the State—awaiting the means of realisation; problems, old and new, will find their solution in a frank partnership of knowledge, experience and goodwill. Work Committees would fail in their main purpose if they existed only to smooth over grievances.

7. We recognize that, from time to time, matters will arise which the management or the workmen consider to be questions they cannot discuss in these joint meetings. When this occurs, we

anticipate that nothing but good will come from the friendly statement of the reasons why the reservation is made.

8. We regard the successful development and utilisation of Works Committees in any business on the bases recommended in this Report as of equal importance with its commercial and scientific efficiency; and we think that in every case one of the partners or directors, or some other responsible representative of the management, would be well advised to devote a substantial part of his time and thought to the good working and development of such a committee.

8. There has been some experience, both before the war and during the war, of the benefits of Works Committees, and we think it should be recommended most strongly to employers and employed that, in connection with the scheme for the establishment of National and District Industrial Councils, they should examine this experience with a view to the institution of Works Committees on proper lines, in works where the conditions render their formation practicable. We have recommended that the Ministry of Labor should prepare a summary of the experience available with reference to Works Committees, both before and during the war, including information as to any rules or reports relating to such Committees, and should issue a memorandum thereon for the guidance of employers and workpeople generally, and we understand that such a memorandum is now in course of preparation.**

10. In order to ensure uniform and common principles of action, it is essential that where National and District Industrial Councils exist the Works Committees should be in close touch with them, and the scheme for linking up Works Committees with the Councils should be considered and determined by the National Councils.

11. We have considered it better not to attempt to indicate any specific form of Works Committees. Industrial establishments show such infinite variation in size, number of persons employed, multiplicity of departments,

** This Memorandum is now completed and will be published immediately by the Ministry of Labor.

and other conditions, that the particular form of Works Committees must necessarily be adapted to the circumstances of each case. It would, therefore, be impossible to formulate any satisfactory scheme which does not provide a large measure of elasticity.

We are confident that the nature of the particular organization necessary for the various cases will be settled without difficulty by the exercise of goodwill on both sides.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,†

J. H. WHITLEY, Chairman.

F. S. BUTTON

S. J. CHAPMAN

G. H. CLAUGHTON

J. R. CLYNES

F. N. HEPWORTH

WILFRID HILL

J. A. HOBSON

A. SUSAN LAWRENCE

MAURICE LEVY

J. J. MALLON

THOS. R. RATCLIFFE-ELLIS

ALLAN M. SMITH

D. R. H. WILLIAMS

MONA WILSON

H. J. WILSON,

A. GREENWOOD,

Secretaries.

18th October 1918.

† Sir G. J. Carter and Mr. Smillie were unable to attend any of the meetings at which this Report was considered and they therefore do not sign it. Sir G. J. Carter has intimated that in his view, in accordance with the principles indicated in paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the Report, it is important that Works Committees should not deal with matters which ought to be directly dealt with by the firms concerned or their respective Associations in conjunction with the recognized representatives of the Trade Unions whose members are affected.

CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION ASSOCIATION

Crown Life Building, 59 Yonge St.,
Toronto.

Provisional Executive Committee :

Hon. N. Curry, Senator; Huntley R. Drummond, Esq., George E. Drummond, Esq., J. H. Sherrard, Esq., John F. Ellis, Esq., W. K. George, Esq., W. K. McNaught, C.M.G., S.R. Parsons, Esq., T. A. Russell, Esq., Sir John Willison, William Stone, Esq., H. D. Scully, Esq., R. Hobson, Esq.,

Lt.-Col. Harry Cockshutt, W. M. Gartshore, Esq., R. O. McCulloch, Esq., W. J. Bulman, Esq., E. A. Mott, Esq. (Major A. N. Worthington, Secretary.)

Canada faces new conditions and problems. We do not know when peace will come nor what will follow. It may be that the period of readjustment will be long and difficult. Possibly there is no sound ground for apprehension or anxiety. It is certain, however, that we will adopt wise measures of social, industrial and national policy according as we have knowledge of conditions in other countries and sympathetic, comprehensive, adequate understanding of the basis of our own industrial fabric, the dangers to which it may be exposed and the defences which must be maintained.

The objects of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association are (1) to maintain industrial stability and (2) to secure wise consideration and prudent treatment of problems of Reconstruction. Parliament will legislate more wisely and the public will judge measures of legislation more fairly if accurate knowledge is afforded of actual conditions in the country and the probable effects of new legislation. Investigation will be made into the conditions of various industries, the markets which they must supply, the wages paid to labor as compared with the wages paid in competitive industries elsewhere, and the relative charges for transportation. It will endeavor to assist in the extension and development of technical and general education. It will maintain a sympathetic attitude towards projects of land settlement, organizations to extend co-operation among rural producers and plans to improve rural conditions. It will give its support to movements—whether directed by leaders of Labor or Employers of Labor—which aim at establishing fair working agreements between workers and employers and improving relations between Labor and Capital; and recognizing the equal rights of citizenship which women have acquired it will seek to improve their position in industry and co-operate as far as opportunity offers with women's organizations in investigating and improving conditions which peculiarly af-

fect the domestic, social and industrial welfare of women.

Facts should be more influential than opinions. Too often what are regarded as constructive proposals have destructive effects. If we would profit by the experience of other countries we must know what has been done in other countries. If we would reconstruct wisely in Canada we must know what other countries are doing and consider deeply how we can best adapt ourselves, not only to new domestic conditions, but to new world conditions. This Association will endeavor to supply facts and statistics affecting agriculture, manufactures, labor, transportation, and markets, in confidence that if the people are informed, Parliament will be greatly strengthened to resist doubtful proposals and enabled more easily to maintain the national interest against any class or sectional interest. Assuming a common patriotism in all portions of the country and all elements of the population it should not be difficult to adjust all differences and remove all grievances if any exist.

If we lay heavier taxes upon Canadian industries than are imposed upon those of the United States, France or Great Britain, we impair their ability to supply the domestic market or to secure a foothold in other markets during the period of reconstruction. Our industries will be helpless when peace is restored if they adequate no reserve of working capital. Unless there is a demand for labor when the war is over it will be difficult or impossible to provide employment for returned soldiers and the thousands of workers released from munition factories and other concerns engaged in the production of war supplies. In this event those who have risked their lives to maintain free institutions will come home to find Canada which they have made honorable among the nations seething in unrest and beset with industrial uncertainty and confusion.

Mr. Harold Cox, an independent British Liberal, who cannot be suspected of any desire to protect capital, goes so far as to say that "a man who saves money in order to equip a munition factory, or to cultivate a neglected farm, or to build a ship, or to work a coal mine, is serving his country as

much as a man who buys war bonds and his investments ought also to be exempted." This may be neither practicable nor desirable, but it is true as Mr. Cox says, that a man may have much money invested in business and still not be able "to put his hand on a single penny." Taxable capacity depends on income, but income devoted to manufacture and production may serve the State to advantage.

It is not suggested that the industries of the country should escape their fair and full share of war and general taxation. It is clear, however, that without adequate working capital wages cannot be fully maintained nor can the best grades of labor be employed, the goods manufactured improved in quality, or risks taken in seeking a wider market or providing against unemployment. Volume of output has an intimate relation to cost of manufacture, remuneration of labor and prices to purchasers. Goods produced in struggling factories are likely to be high priced, inferior in quality and detrimental to the reputation of the country. Unless factories are busy wages cannot be maintained nor unemployment prevented. Not all of those who will come to Canada from ally countries when peace is restored will go upon the land. At any cost we must ensure that no returning Canadian soldier shall look in vain for work at decent wages. Thus employers and workmen, labor unions and veterans' organizations have a mutual interest in opposing unwise taxation and illegitimate competition in the domestic market.

It is doubtful if there is any strong feeling in Canada in favor of raising the national revenues by direct taxation. There is grave danger that land taxation would retard immigration and settlement. That is chiefly but not wholly a question between the farmers and the Government since the war will increase the obligations of Canada so enormously that a great influx of desirable settlers will be wanted in order that the individual burden may be lessened by distribution over a larger population. The war may and possibly should bring new forms of taxation but customs duties must continue to be the chief source of revenue. It is doubtful if all the new forms of taxation that

can be devised will meet the interest upon the war debt alone, to say nothing of pensions and other heavy war obligations. Duties necessary to provide revenue will afford such incidental protection as should enable us to create and maintain new industries and take full advantage of all that we have learned during the war of processes of manufacture, stores, or raw material, and requirements of oversea markets. Much that we imported before the war we will manufacture in the future if we afford reasonable security in home markets and utilize our greater knowledge of the resources of Canada for the advantage of Canada.

Mr. James W. Gerard, American Ambassador at Berlin during the first years of the war, thus describes German plans for trade extension and commercial conquest when peace is restored, "The war after the war, in trade and commerce, may be long and bitter. The rivers of Germany are lined with ships of seven or eight thousand tons, many of them built or completed since the war, and Germany designs as her first play in this commercial war to seize the carrying trade of the world. The German exporter has lost his trade for years. Alliances have already been made in great industries, such as the dyestuff industry, in preparation for a sudden and sustained attack upon that new industry in America. Prices will be cut so far below the cost of production in order that the new industry of America fighting single-handed against the single-head German trust may be driven from the field. The German Government will take a practical hand in this contest, and only the combination of American manufacturers and the erection of a tariff wall of defence can prevent the Americans, if each fights single-handed and for his own end, from falling before the united, efficient and bitter assault of German trade rivals." Mr. Gerard's warning has as much significance for the people of Canada as it has for those of the United States.

Trade within the Empire will have a close relation to problems of Reconstruction. The Dominions Royal Commission, which conducted a lengthy investigation into conditions throughout the Empire said in its report "It has

not been adequately realized that the rates of freight which may be charged on goods to and from the Dominions are, in many cases a more important factor in the question of the development of inter-Imperial trade than tariffs and tariff privileges." A few months ago the Imperial Government appointed an Empire Resources Committee to consider a resolution adopted by the Imperial War Conference of 1917 which declared that the time had arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources, and especially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries. It is important in any such inquiry that the interests of the Dominions should not be prejudiced by neglect or want of knowledge. There is no necessary conflict between Canadian and Imperial interests if the situation is clearly understood. Each portion of the Empire must maintain the industrial policy which its conditions demand, and the more clearly that is recognized the stronger will be the bonds of sympathy which hold the parts together. Beyond legitimate protection of local interests there may be Imperial preferences in control over raw materials, in direction of immigration, and in charges for transportation which will tend greatly to unify the Empire, enhance its strength and security, and increase the general average of prosperity alike in the Mother Country and the Dominions. It must be remembered that we cannot derive the greatest national advantages from our natural resources unless we complete the processes of manufacture in Canada. If we ship our raw materials out of the country to be manufactured elsewhere not only do we build up foreign industries but in many cases the finished articles will be returned to the Dominion to compete with Canadian factories. By manufacturing in Canada we create local industrial communities, provide employment for labor, trade for merchants and home markets for producers.

Since the war began there has been a vast increase of trade between Canada and Great Britain. Last year Canadian exports to Great Britain were

valued at \$790,000,000 as against \$246,000,000 in 1914. In the year in which war was declared the Dominion shipped 54 per cent, of products and manufactures to countries within the British Empire. In 1917 the proportion was 67 per cent. Imports from within the Empire increased from 17 per cent. to 25 per cent. Munitions, war supplies and food represent a great proportion of the increase in exports and thus unless there is energetic effort to find new customers and ensure adequate and favorable facilities for transportation the volume will greatly decline when peace is restored.

To these, to other immediate problems, and to new problems that will arise during the war and the period of Reconstruction the Association will give its attention with the single desire to assist in their wise solution, to assure equitable dealing with all classes and interests and particularly to develop the natural resources of Canada for the national advantage, and maintain in strength and efficiency the industries of the country upon which labor and agriculture, town and township, so greatly depend.

REMEMBER

The next Fifth Sunday Meeting will be held on Sunday, September 29th, 1918, at 7.30 P.M., at Stanley Hall, Montreal.

Be sure to attend.

SUBSCRIBE

To the Canadian Railroader.

Send in your dollar to-day for a year's subscription.

The Farmers' Platform

For years the farmer has been considered by politicians as the dependable Conservative. The obstreperous reformer of the city could always be softly and safely slipped into his place by baiting the hook for the farmer's vote with some promising measure of relief at election time. It is a phenomenon that to-day the real radical of the Dominion is the trades unionist of the country. Our object in printing the FARMER'S PLATFORM is to give our readers some idea of the wonderful work of organization which has been carried on by the Agricultural movement known as the Grain Growers' Movement.

For years the Farmer conventions demanded relief from burdens imposed on the agricultural industry, imposed by legislation which the farmers considered was in the interest of the privileged class. The outgrowth of it all was the organizations of the Grain Growers' movement which has developed into a very powerful organization devoting great energy to the training of men and women to the duties of citizenship. Its members were encouraged to study financial, social and economic questions so that they might be better qualified to truly represent the agricultural class in the making and administering of laws. It will be a great surprise to trades unionists to know that three thousand farmer delegates attended at their conventions and over two thousand unions legally authorized by the parent association ratified this platform.

Mr. R. McKenzie, who is the secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, says: "The history dealing with economics in Canada for the last quarter of a century is an outstanding illustration of how far those responsible for the commercial legislation of the nation may wander away from that which is in the best interest of the country. However fertile the soil of the country may be and however frugal and industrious its people, it will remain poor and backward and the people will be lacking in the highest comforts of life, if its trade laws and its fiscal policy are unsound. The abandoned and unused fertile fields of the western prairies and the decadence of agriculture of the rich province of Ontario abundantly testify to the truth of this natural law."

The Canadian Council of Agriculture at its session in December 1916 deliberated upon these matters very carefully. The council is composed of the executive officers of The United Farmers of Alberta, The Alberta Co-operative Elevator Company, The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and The Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, The Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, The Grain Growers' Grain Company, The Grain Growers' Guide, The United Farmers of Ontario and The United Farmers' Co-operative Company of Ontario representing 65,000 farmers thus affiliated with this organization. The president and executive officer of each of the above organizations were present at this meeting and took part in the deliberations. One outstanding fact that impressed itself on the minds of the delegates present was the anomaly that while agriculture is the basic industry of Canada and the rural population represents one half the population of Canada, members of parliament are almost exclusively from the urban population. Men whose environment and training is

urban, causes them to view all questions affecting production, trade and economics from the viewpoint of the city and notwithstanding however well disposed they may be towards the needs of agriculture, and how unselfish they approach legislation, their conclusions must necessarily be one-sided. The council regards this situation as being very undesirable.

In order to have legislation equitable to all the different interests concerned, all those interests must be represented in the making of such legislation and that until such time as the rural population is adequately represented in parliament, by men having the practical training, view point and knowledge of agriculture, we need not expect to get legislation that will be just to our industry.

The delegates at the council meeting having regard to this situation as they saw it, decided that the time has arrived for them to direct the people in the course of political action that would tend to bring the electors to a clear sense of their responsibility as citizens and give them a lead as how to act unitedly as never before. To this end the council adopted a platform designed, when given effect to by legislation, to place the country on an economic, political and social basis that would be in the interest not only of farmers, but of all the citizens of Canada generally.

Members of the Canadian Council of Agriculture realize that the wage earners, artisans, professional men and trades people suffer equally with the agricultural classes from the fiscal and economic system that prevails in Canada and are just as interested in economic and social reforms as are the farmers."

The platform drafted by the council was submitted to the annual conventions of the United Farmers of Alberta, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association and the United Farmers of Ontario in January and February 1917. At these great conventions attended by a total of 3,000 delegates, this platform was adopted unanimously. It was then referred to the 2,000 local unions or associations which constitute these organizations and was by them received with equal unanimity.

GEORGE PIERCE, Editor.



The Farmers' Platform

INTRODUCTION

THE organized farmers have for years, in their annual conventions and local meetings, been passing resolutions demanding relief from the oppressive burdens imposed on the agricultural industry, by legislation enacted in the interest of privileged classes. Representation has been regularly made to the government at Ottawa demanding redress, but up to the present time a comparatively small measure of relief has been secured. On the contrary, the burdensome legislation farmers have complained of has not only been maintained, but of recent years made more oppressive.

Since the inception of the Grain Growers' movement, the organization has devoted a large amount of energy to training men and women in the duties of citizenship, including those of different languages and nationalities, to assume the responsibility of true Canadian citizenship and to fit themselves when occasion should arise, to become the mouth-piece of their fellows, in the making and administering of laws. As a matter of fact, the Grain Growers' movement has developed into a school of thought, aiming at training farmers to do clear thinking on financial, social and economic questions.

It is becoming more apparent each year that our parliament is becoming more and more under the direct influence of industrial, financial and transportation interests, represented by men of wealth in financial and industrial centres, and if the rural population and the common people, including industrial wage earners, are to have their view point represented in parliament, a democratic system of nominating and electing representatives must be adopted.

The history dealing with economics in Canada for the last quarter of a century is an outstanding illustration of how far those responsible for the commercial legislation of the nation may wander away from that which is in the best interest of the country. How-

ever fertile the soil of the country may be and however frugal and industrial its people, it will remain poor and backward and the people will be lacking in the highest comforts of life, if its trade laws and its fiscal policy are unsound. The abandoned and unused fertile fields of the western prairies and the decadence of agriculture of the rich province of Ontario abundantly testify to the truth of this natural law.

The Canadian Council of Agriculture at its session in December, 1916, deliberated upon these matters very carefully. The council is composed of the executive officers of The United Farmers of Alberta, The Alberta Co-operative Elevator Company, The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, The Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, The Grain Growers' Grain Company, The Grain Growers' Guide, The United Farmers' Co-operative Company of Ontario, representing 65,000 farmers thus affiliated with this organization. The president and executive officers of each of the above organizations were present at this meeting and took part in the deliberations. One outstanding fact that impressed itself on the minds of the delegates present was the anomaly that while agriculture is the basic industry of Canada, and the rural population represent one half the population of Canada, members of parliament are almost exclusively from the urban population. Men whose environment and training is urban, causes them to view all questions affecting production, trade and economics from the view point of the city and not withstanding however well disposed they may be towards the needs of agriculture, and how unselfish they approach legislation, their conclusions must necessarily be one sided. The council regards this situation as being very undesirable.

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lation and that until such time as the rural population is adequately represented in parliament by men having the practical training, view point and knowledge of agriculture, we need not expect to get legislation that will be just to our industry.

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Members of the Canadian Council of Agriculture realize that the wage earners, artisans, professional men and trades people suffer equally with the agricultural classes from the fiscal and economic system that prevails in Canada and are just as much interested in economic and social reforms as are the farmers.

The platform drafted by the council was submitted to the annual conventions of the United Farmers of Alberta, The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, The Manitoba Grain Growers' Association and The United Farmers of Ontario in January and February, 1917. At these great conventions, attended by a total of 3,000 delegates, this platform was adopted unanimously. It was then referred to the 2,000 local unions or associations which constitute these organizations and was by them received with equal unanimity.

THE FARMERS' PLATFORM

Drafted by the Canadian Council of Agriculture and endorsed by the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, United Farmers of Alberta and United Farmers of Ontario.

The Customs Tariff.

WHEREAS the war has revealed the amazing financial strength of

Great Britain, which has enabled her to finance not only her own part in the struggle, but also to assist in financing her Allies to the extent of hundreds of millions of pounds, this enviable position being due to the free trade policy which has enabled her to draw her supplies freely from every quarter of the globe and consequently to undersell her competitors on the world's markets, and because this policy has not only been profitable to Great Britain, but has greatly strengthened the bonds of Empire by facilitating trade between the Motherland and her overseas dominions — we believe that the best interests of the Empire and of Canada would be served by reciprocal action on the part of Canada through gradual reductions of the tariffs on British imports, having for its object a closer union and a better understanding between Canada, and the Motherland and by so doing not only strengthen the hands of Great Britain in the life and death struggle in which she is now engaged, but at the same time bring about a great reduction in the cost of living to our Canadian people;

AND WHEREAS the Protective Tariff has fostered combines, trusts, and "gentlemen's agreements" in almost every line of Canadian industrial enterprise, by means of which the people of Canada—both urban and rural—have been shamefully exploited through the elimination of competition, the ruination of many of our smaller industries and the advancement of prices on practically all manufactured goods to the full extent permitted by the tariff;

AND WHEREAS agriculture — the basic industry upon which the success of all industries primarily depends — is almost stagnant throughout Canada as shown by the declining rural population in both eastern and western Canada, due largely to the greatly increased cost of agricultural implements and machinery, clothing, boots and shoes, building material and practically everything the farmer has to buy, caused by the Protective Tariff, so that it is becoming impossible for farmers generally to carry on farming operations profitably;

AND WHEREAS the Protective Tariff is the most wasteful and costly method ever designed for raising national revenue because for every dollar obtained thereby for the public treasury at least three dollars pass into the pockets of the protected interests, thereby building up a privileged class at the expense of the masses, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer;

AND WHEREAS the Protective Tariff has been and is a chief corrupting influence in our national life because the protected interests, in order to maintain their unjust privileges, have contributed lavishly to political and campaign funds, thus encouraging both political parties to look to them for support, thereby lowering the standard of public morality.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Council of Agriculture representing the organized farmers of Canada, urges that as a means of bringing about these much needed reforms and at the same time reducing the high cost of living, now proving such a burden on the people of Canada, our tariff laws should be amended as follows:

- 1.—By reducing the customs duty on goods imported from Great Britain to one half the rates charged under the general tariff and that further gradual, uniform reductions be made in the remaining tariff on British imports that will ensure complete free trade between Great Britain and Canada in five years.
- 2.—That the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, which still remains on the United States statute books, be accepted by the parliament of Canada.
- 3.—That all food stuff not included in the Reciprocity Agreement be placed on the free list.
- 4.—That agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, fertilizers, coal, lumber, cement, illuminating fuel and lubricating oils be placed on the free list.
- 5.—That the customs tariff on all the necessities of life be materially reduced.

- 6.—That all tariff concessions granted to other countries be immediately extended to Great Britain.

Taxation for Revenue.

As these tariff reductions will very considerably reduce the national revenue derived from that source, the Canadian Council of Agriculture would recommend that in order to provide the necessary additional revenue for carrying on the government of the country and for the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion, direct taxation be imposed in the following manner:

- 1.—By a direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources.
- 2.—By a sharply graduated personal income tax.
- 3.—By a heavy graduated inheritance tax on large estates.
- 4.—By a graduated income tax on the profits of corporations.

Other Necessary Reforms.

The Canadian Council of Agriculture desires to endorse also the following policies as in the best interests of the people of Canada:

- 1.—The nationalization of all railway, telegraph and express companies.
- 2.—That no more natural resources be alienated from the Crown but brought into use only under short term leases, in which the interests of the public shall be properly safeguarded, such leases to be granted only by public auction.
- 3.—Direct legislation, including the initiative and referendum and the right of recall.
- 4.—Publicity of political campaign fund contributions and expenditures both before and after elections.
- 5.—The abolition of the patronage system.
- 6.—Full provincial autonomy in liquor legislation, including manufacture, export and import.
- 7.—That the extension of the franchise to women in any province shall automatically admit them to the federal franchise.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF

The three most imperatively important economic problems in Canada today are the Tariff, Taxes and Transportation. Naturally enough the Canadian Council of Agriculture has laid down as the main plank in its program the revision of the protective tariff in the direction of freer trade; and with an investigation of the main factors involved in this problem we shall begin our discussion.

In the first place it will be necessary to clear away some of the main fallacies underlying the protectionist's position. The protectionist usually confuses two issues—the raising of revenue and the enrichment of the nation through a policy of protection. These two issues must be kept clear-cut and distinct if we are to arrive at right conclusions. The question of securing adequate revenue to meet the people's need will be discussed later; at present we shall concern ourselves with considering whether the protective tariff really enriches the whole people or a particular class.

It cannot be denied—and is not denied even by the protectionists—that the tariff is essentially a tax. The majority of those, however, who by their votes support a protective tariff are not fully persuaded, and indeed often deny, that the tariff is a more or less disguise form of taxation. It is clear, nevertheless, that to the extent that the tariff furnishes a revenue to the government, it can do so only through levying a tribute upon the whole community. If the rates are so high, on the other hand, that foreign goods are excluded from the country, a tax is still extorted from the people in the shape of higher prices for everything they use. It is evident therefore that whether a protective tariff yields a revenue to the government, or nothing there to but only higher prices to favored producers, the people pay a tax nevertheless. The question that we must consider therefore is:

Can a People Tax Themselves Rich?

Most protectionists sidestep this pointed question and immediately begin to discuss the causes making for commercial, industrial and agricultu-

ral prosperity. If they are driven out of that position they begin to talk about the great need for increased revenue and the securing of funds to finance the war, or to meet post-bellum conditions. Everyone grants that taxes must be paid by the community as long as social activities and social life endure; but the fiscal problem must be sharply differentiated from that of augmenting the nation's wealth. It is plain as a pike-staff that taxes do not increase but rather diminish the wealth of the community, and by no legerdemain is it possible to wave the wand of taxation and add to the nation's riches. It is as easy, and as sensible, to attempt to lift yourself by pulling on your boot straps as it is to try to tax yourself into prosperity. So stated the proposition becomes self-evident. Taxes are inevitable, necessary and just, under right conditions and for proper objects; but it is insincere as well as absurd to argue that a tax levied by means of a tariff will at one and the same time yield a revenue and leave the payers thereof better off than before.

In this connection the reader must not lose sight of the pivotal word "protection." In so far as the tariff protects, it is evident that it can do so only by excluding competitors goods. The "home market" can only be held and kept as a private preserve for Canadian producers so long as foreign wares are excluded from entering the field of competition. The ideal protective tariff, therefore is one that prevents international trade altogether. But if the goods of the United States, of Europe and the Far East do not enter the Dominion, no revenue can be raised for national purposes, and taxes in that event must be sought elsewhere. The protected interests in this country are too sagacious, however, to appeal to the people at large on this ground. They know full well that the illusion must be maintained, that the tariff at one and the same time yields a revenue to the public treasury and builds up home industries. Therefore such rates are levied as will permit some foreign trade to be maintained, while they give to Canadian producers the great bulk of the home trade at protected prices.

Foreign Trade is Essential.

Notwithstanding the fact that almost every civilized country in the world, with the exception of the United Kingdom, has a protective tariff for the encouragement of domestic industry, international trade persists. That it does so furnishes striking and conclusive evidence of its inherent justice and necessity. Notwithstanding all that mankind can do and has done to place obstacles and barriers in the way of commerce and industry, the great steam of international trade flows on in growing volume. Leaving war conditions aside for the moment it is evident to every thoughtful man that there must be some compelling, fundamental cause for the growth of international trade, notwithstanding all that has been done to prevent it. In fact, for the decade preceding the war, our financial journals were filled with articles dealing with neutral markets and the struggle for new commercial outlets in Asia Minor, Africa, Russia, South America and the Far East. Basically the present war is being fought out over a struggle for markets. Germany's demand for a "place in the sun" precipitated the world catastrophe; and her insensate disregard of the rights of all other nations, great or small, in achieving that object, has given rise to the secondary problems involved. Even the United States, with its succession of high tariffs beginning with 1846, and showing no indication of a reversal of opinion until the passing of the Underwood Tariff Act, has never lost sight of the tremendous importance of foreign trade. Everyone will recall with what exultation the Americans hailed the day when their total foreign trade approximated to that of Germany. No—however much highly protected nations may emphasize the surpassing importance of the home market, they realize also how vitally essential for their well-being is their foreign trade.

What is Wealth?

We come therefore, aside from the United Kingdom, to the curious and absurd situation in which protectionist nations struggle, and even go to war, for foreign markets in which to

dispose of their goods, but from which they do not want to buy anything, aside from war materials and essential food supplies. It is an ironic commentary on the status of present day economic thinking that most nations hold officially to the theory that wealth is increased mainly through selling and not through buying. It is a trite but true saying that both parties to a bargain—the buyer as well as the seller—gain in trade. Otherwise no exchange could exist or persist. It was Sir. Thomas Munn who, in the seventeenth century, in his most popular book, "England's Treasure from Foreign Trade," exploited the theory that a nation should export goods to the greatest extent possible and taken in exchange gold and silver. Strange to say the protectionist of today still talks much of "keeping our money at home." He overlooks the fact that money is only a instrument of exchange—that in and by itself it is worth little. Its value to the possessor is due to its command over goods in general—food, clothing, shelter and so forth. It seems a waste of space to dwell longer upon this primitive and primary economic principle; but so deep-seated is this conviction among many in the Dominion that money is wealth and that we should sell for money alone, thus at one and the same time enriching ourselves and preserving the home market, that it has been thought worth while to emphasize the utter fallacy involved in the assumption.

As everyone knows ninety per cent of international as well as national trade is carried on on a credit basis. Goods are exchanged for goods and the balances only are settled in cash. If Canada, or in fact the richest nation in the world, were forced to pay for imports on a cash basis, it would not take long before an impasse would be reached. Fortunately, however, trade persists on a logical basis, notwithstanding prevalent economic fallacies. The Dominion has built its railroads, has opened up its mines and forests and exploited its natural wealth, on borrowed capital—capital that has come to us, not in the form of gold or silver, but in the shape of steel rails, locomotives, cement, building materials and a thousand and one other va

rieties of economic goods. Up to the outbreak of war in August, 1914, we had imported "capital" in that form to the extent of about 3,000 million dollars. And was it thought, or expected, that these huge obligations would be ultimately discharged by the exportation of "money" — silver and gold? Certainly not; but the exportation of the products of our farms, of our factories, our mines and other economic enterprises. It is clear, enough to those who look beneath the surface of things that our wonderful prosperity and future growth depend upon the exchange of our own goods for those of foreign countries. But if our protectionists had their way entirely, if the home market were preserved for them and them alone, if we bought nothing abroad but concentrated all our attention upon domestic industry, then our great basic industries would wither and die. One does not have to spend much time in making this clear to the farmers of Canada. They know full well that the greater part of the produce of their labor must be marketed abroad. The prairie provinces depend almost solely upon the markets of Europe for their prosperity. Professional economists have long since thrown into the dust-bin of Time the out-worn theory involved in protection — that nations should sell but not buy; that its home market should be kept intact for home producers; and that the people's money should not be exported abroad. These ideas belong to the days of barbarism.

Has Protection Made You Rich?

Notwithstanding the fact that even the most highly protected countries have not built their tariff walls so high as to exclude foreign trade altogether, and thus reach the protectionist ideal, it is admitted that this can be done. The protected interests, however have not had the audacity to go so far. They have levied rates of 100, 200, or even 300 per cent., thereby reducing the volume of foreign trade but not entirely preventing it. Millions of dollars thereby are put into the pockets of private producers in Canada and the United States, and the few are enriched at the expense of the

many. It is a fact that cannot be denied that, at the outbreak of the war, the average wage for the head of each family in Canada was somewhat less than \$500 per annum; while in the United States—then the second richest country in the world — 7,000,000 families existed on a yearly income of only \$500. Our readers may figure out for themselves what such an income would do in providing food, shelter, clothing, medical attendance, insurance and social enjoyment to the families concerned. The American Republic was not obliged to wait for the great war to observe the phenomenon of millionaires being made overnight. When Andrew Carnegie sold out his interests to the United States Steel Corporation, a score of millionaires blossomed forth like the night-blooming cereus. Computations have been made showing that the financial destinies of Canada are in the hands of some twenty-three men—our captains of industry, owners and exploiters of mines and other natural resources. Canadians, as well as Americans, have boasted of their millionaires, their steel kings, their oil and coal barons, their promoters and men of high finance. And the protective tariff has done more than any other single agency in bringing about these results—colossal wealth in the hands of the few and misery, privation and unrequired labor for the many. It is high time to ask directly of each and every Canadian: Has the protective tariff made you rich?

Granted that the protective tariff has yielded a crop of millionaires, is it just, is it equitable? Should great wealth and poverty exist side by side in a democratic state? Is it the part of a statesman to work for the common good, or for the enrichment of the few? Has the Canadian farmer experienced any benefit from protection? And even if he has in a few isolated instances—as among the fruit growers of British Columbia—should he seize avidly upon this sop thrown to him by the protected interests, in order that he may stultify himself on the main issue? These are questions that farmer but to every clear-headed and come home not only to the Canadian truly democratic citizen today—ques-

tions that can no longer be glossed over or ignored. Up to the present, at least, the Canadian agricultural class, which furnishes five out of every nine souls in the population, have received absolutely no special benefits with respect to price fixation for their products. On the other hand a small minority of producers in the Dominion are enabled by law to take toll from the people by means of artificially created and abnormal prices. The protectionist and other vested interests reap where they have not sown and gather where they have not strawed.

In the days of Queen Elizabeth prices were minutely regulated, wages of labor determined and monopolies granted to favorites by an autocratic government. Only after a hard struggle did England destroy the outer bulwarks of this pernicious system by the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846. Thereafter the United Kingdom was practically on a free trade basis. The battle was won against heavy odds, only after a grim and determined fight by public-spirited citizens who educated by means of pamphlets and public addresses, the mass of the people concerning the issues involved. The United Kingdom has astonished the world, during the present war, by her great financial strength — financial strength that has enabled her not only to finance herself but to come to the support of the British dominions and of France, Italy, Russia and the smaller allies as well. And yet the Dominion persists in clinging to and putting into practice an economic fallacy that makes for class distinctions, gross injustices and the protection of the interests of a favored few. For the heart of protectionism is found in artificially created price fixation. Either protection raises prices to the consumer or it does not. If it does not, neither the protectionist nor any other class would make a fight for its preservation. If it does, then the protective tariff raises the price of the necessities, comforts and conveniences of life to the people at large, by law. And we submit that no truly democratic State can, with any approach to even the semblance of equity and of fair dealing, enact laws to protect a class already well-to-do and relatively much

richer than others in the community, at the expense of the mass of the people.

The Burden of Labor.

Protectionists, however, justify their position by asserting that labor gains equally with protected capital. Our readers have heard much of the "pauper labor" argument, whereby it is said that Canadian industries and Canadian capital must be protected against the competition of the pauper labor of Europe. Granting this proposition for the moment, it may be pointed out that protectionists are equally adept at using this so-called argument in its reserve form—that Canadian producers cannot compete with the highly-skilled, highly paid labor of the American Republic, and with its huge capitalistic combinations. They cannot have it both ways, however. If cheap labor is the deciding factor in international trade, then there is no justification for a protective tariff as against the United States, for labor in the Republic receives the highest reward in the world. The truth is that the argument has no validity whatever. The only way by which labor can be protected is by giving it possession of the entire range of domestic economic activity; and this the manufacturers do not intend to do if they know it. Canadian vested interests have done more than any other class in bringing "pauper" labor to this country, where it comes into full competition with the Canadian workman. Thus, Canadian workers are penalized by the tariff on what they have to buy, and receive absolutely no protection on what they have to sell. And, finally, it may be said that pauper labor is always inefficient labor; and if Canadian producers cannot compete with it, they had better vacate the field in behalf of their abler rivals. But no one knows better than they themselves the utter fallacy of the position assumed.

The protective tariff is often justified on the ground that it "makes work." It does make work assuredly, but not in a true, economic sense. It requires the employment of an army of official servants to inspect, appraise and trace the origin of goods at many ports of entry and elsewhere. But this

can hardly be called productive labor. The whole argument of 'making work' hinges upon the out-worn "lump-of-labor" theory—that there is only so much work in the world to be done, and that as much as possible must be secured and protected for home industry. Of course this is a sheer fallacy that has been exposed these several decades past by professional economists. If men and women worked night and day, even with the assistance of the marvellous industrial equipment of our age, it would be impossible to accomplish all that is necessary to meet the world's needs. If we were to agree that there is only a certain modicum of work available, to be apportioned among the various peoples of the world, we should thereby confess that a man's mental, spiritual and physical nature can be absolutely satisfied within a point of time, and that mankind had reached a static stage—that there is no further room for development. But the entire industrial history of the nations refutes this contention. Within the last generation alone new and imperative needs among men have been created—needs that must be satisfied by economic effort, by the production of goods of want-satisfying power. Consider the music industry alone, the development of the player-piano, of the talking machine and the other instruments manufactured to satisfy a fundamental human need. This industry has given rise to the employment of tens of thousands of workers, and the end is not yet. And so with the automobile, the airplane, wireless telegraphy and a host of other economic goods that have been produced to satisfy a more or less intense demand. It is plain as day that, as civilization develops, human needs will multiply in bewildering variety and that huge industries will be built up for their satisfaction. It is obvious, then, that there is no validity whatever in the assumption that the protective tariff conserves work for the worker, increases employment, or raises his wages. That the protected interests could pay more than they do is one thing; but that higher wages naturally follow the enactment of a high tariff law is a sheer fallacy.

Let it be assumed that Canadian

workmen, nevertheless, do actually benefit because of the protective tariff. What follows? Surely that Canadian labor is pauper labor that must be supported by taxes levied upon the community at large. No self-respecting artisan in this country could tolerate such a condition of affairs, but would be forced to demand why, in a country so richly endowed with natural resources, it was necessary to subsidize labor by a tax on the whole people. We know, however, that the excess prices wrung from consumers do not go to increase wages, but merely increase the cost of living. And that is a telling indictment against the protective tariff as far as labor is concerned—it does not make life more tolerable but merely accentuates the struggle for existence. Regarded from this point of view, and not merely as an academic question, the tariff is seen fundamentally to deal with the most sacred and supreme of human problems, the life problem, because it places a crushing burden upon all who toil. The people bend their backs that millionaires may be made. The tariff was never known to make a millionaire of an artisan, of a miner, a fisherman or a farmer. The truth is that the protective tariff never yet has, and never can, raise a race from poverty to prosperity. It rests upon hatred, prejudice, partisanship and greed. It does not connote prosperity but spells plunder every time.

Canadian protectionists are prone to justify the tariff in Canada by emphasizing the undoubted fact that Canadians and Americans receive the highest wages in the world. But in 1776 Adam Smith pointed out in "The Wealth of Nations" that the American colonists enjoyed especially high wages because of the superabundance of land and other natural resources; and that, because of these gifts of Nature, children, contrary to the European view, were an asset rather than a liability. And from that day to this wages have been higher in the Republic than in any country in Europe—not because of the tariff but in spite of it. And the same may be said of wages for Canadian labor. As long as Canada had available immense areas of fertile land to be had for the asking,

ordinary wages in industry and commerce were regulated by what a man could earn by employing himself upon the land. The land in itself created a demand for labor and raised the general level of wages. If economic prosperity, however, can be guaranteed by a protective tariff how comes it that the United States and Canada, under the highest tariffs in the world have been periodically plunged into industrial depression? The truth is that "good times" can no more be attributed to the tariff than to sun spots, or the Dodo. It may even be said that, owing to the uncertainty ensuing at election times in both the United States and Canada, an uncertainty due to the fact that no one is sure of just what will happen to the tariff schedule, business has been again and again depressed. No such conditions have obtained, or could obtain, in free trade England.

A Scientific Tariff Impossible.

We are told, however, by protectionists that the tariff, with all its admitted faults, is the most valuable of economic instruments if only it is made "scientific." The tariff, nevertheless, can never be constructed on a scientific basis, for the simple reason that it is essentially unscientific. During the election of 1911 the country was informed that a tariff board would be constituted, such as now obtains in the United States, through which tariff rates would be adjusted to meet the differences in cost of production at home and abroad and insure to the manufacturer a reasonable profit. Thus it was thought to inject "science" into the solution of the tariff problem. Needless to say it cannot be done. It cannot be done because trade is natural; and the only reason for and justification of the protective tariff is to prevent trade—to preserve the home market for Canadian producers. It may be said, therefore that far from being scientific, or subject to the principles of natural law the tariff represents rather favoritism, class prejudice and superstition. A man with a sufficient sense of justice would not become a member of a tariff board if the object of the organization was to ensure justice to the whole people. He could

not do so because the tariff cannot be administered impartially—it must discriminate between class and class, community, else it would not be possible to levy a tariff at all. For the tariff, in a word, means, fundamentally, preferential treatment—preference to certain classes of producers at the expense of others, as well as the whole body of consumers.

In Canada and the United States protectionists have justified the tariff mainly on the ground that it gives protection to "infant industries." This argument has never been abandoned although the United States is the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, and although Canadian industries have long since passed the purely experimental stage. The "infant industry" argument, in one or other of its many Protean forms, is advanced today by Wall Street in the Republic and by the big interests in Canada. It is principally on this ground that the formation of a tariff board is so strenuously advocated—although, in all conscience, our "infant industries" have long since become veritable young giants, with a strong-hold on the life of the community. It is simply impossible, therefore, to take the tariff "out of politics." The tariff is a system of taxation, the most extensive system of taxation that the world has ever known. It is quite foreign to the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon people to permit taxation without representation; and therefore it is quite safe to say that the tariff will never be taken out of politics so long as the system lasts. The assumption underlying this cool proposal is that the protective tariff is just, and that it has been accepted in principle by the Canadian people. It is, however, the principle itself that is at stake; and until the underlying principle of the Protective Tariff is justified it must always remain a subject for discussion and legislation.

Protectionists contend, as has been said, that the tariff does not raise to the consumer in the long run, whatever may be its effects at the outset. We may be pardoned for wondering, then, why there is so much controversy concerning tariff rates whenever tariff schedules are revised. If the tariff does not raise prices, the level of

the rates imposed must necessarily be a matter of indifference, provided the principle in itself is accepted. It is abundantly evident, that the tariff is nothing more or less than a tax on the products of foreign countries brought into the Dominion, and that these taxes must be paid by someone. The most courageous and the fairest-minded among protectionists admit that the argument, in its particular, is outworn, and that it has served its day. Taxes inevitably raise the cost of living and the cost of production, no matter by whom they are paid. When local taxes begin to approximate to 30 mills on the dollar, most ratepayers begin to question the expediency, if not the fairness, of the rate and yet the tariff tax is seldom less than 25 per cent. *ad valorem*, and often a specific duty is added as well. Let it be noted carefully, in this connection, how this works out. The importer or manufacturer pays the duty, to be sure, in the first instance, and the tax is thereupon added to the price of the finished product. But the manufacturer is not satisfied with the ordinary profit on the cost of production—he adds to the selling price not only his profit of, let us say, 25 per cent., but a percentage of what he has paid by way of duty as well. He justifies himself in this practice by asserting that he must obtain a profit on the whole capital advanced. The consumer is thereby mulcted in two ways—by being forced to pay the high prices due to a protected market and by having to pay the duty advanced by the producer and a profit on the duty as well. If the government, instead of employing a host of civil servants at ports of entry, stationed its officer before each store and place of business to collect toll on every purchase made the Protective Tariff would not last overnight. And yet that is precisely what it amounts to in the end. The only place where the consumer comes in is to pay the increased prices and vote the support of the system.

The protective Tariff, then, protects the home producer from the necessity of having competed with foreign competitors. It operates always by increasing the prices of goods on which it is levied. As already pointed out, if it did not do so it would never have been

so strenuously defended. This does not mean, however, that the tariff is the sole cause of the high cost of living in the Dominion. But it is certainly the determining factor. Leaving war conditions aside for the moment, high food prices can be explained by the fact that population has outstripped available land areas, and that an artificial concentration of population in huge overgrown cities has left fewer farmers to work the land. The tariff has played the main role in bringing about the latter condition. Aside from that, the exhaustion of natural resources in many countries, the creation of trusts and combines and the enormous increase in the world's output of gold, have all made their efforts felt in increasing the cost of living. It is not fair, therefore, to charge the farmers of Canada with attributing high prices to the tariff alone. They know full well that other forces have been at work, but are quite convinced nevertheless that our high tariff has been the chief factor bringing about the present price situation.

It has been maintained recently that every producer has a right to his profit—that without profit industry would soon come to a standstill. It is said that it is through the pull or driving force of profit, and of profit alone, that the world is ransacked for your breakfast; that profits bring your chinaware from Straffordshire, your pepper from Sumatra, your coffee from Java or Brazil, your breakfast food from Peterborough and your salt from Windsor. All this is undoubtedly true, but offers no argument in behalf of protection. A producer has a right to all he can make in the open market, in the field of free competition, and to that alone. He has much less right to a guaranteed price for the wheat he produces under the most adverse conditions for sale in the open markets of the world. He has much less right to a guaranteed profit than the artisan has to guarantee against the disabilities of sickness, unemployment and old age; and in these particulars the Dominion government has as yet done less than nothing to protect the average citizen, although the common people comprise by far the greater part of the population of the country.

Many Canadians have hitherto accepted the Protective Tariff because of the appeal made to their patriotism. They proudly announce that they are ready to be taxed if the best interests of the nation so require. But those who understand the great evil of a high tariff are also quite ready to be taxed to meet the necessities of the State—they merely object to the form in which taxes, under protection, are levied and collected. In view of the fact that five persons out of every nine in the population live in the country, and in view of the further fact that they make up the larger part of the taxpayers of the community, they may be pardoned for being somewhat indignant at the aspersion cast upon their loyalty and patriotism. They refuse to admit that subservience to the protected interests is precisely the same thing as love of country. Moreover, when it is recalled that since 1911 a very considerable area of land has been withdrawn from cultivation in Canada, all thoughtful investigators of Canada's economic life must be forced to admit that there is something radically wrong with the agricultural industry of this country. The truth is that the farmer cannot flourish when his interests are discriminated against in behalf of the coal barons, pork barons, oil magnates and the other great possessors of wealth. He seeks to approach the problem involved in a fair spirit, but it is well-nigh impossible for him to escape a feeling of bitterness when not only his economic status but his patriotism alike are assailed. How great a burden the farmers of this country are compelled to carry is not generally realized.

What the Tariff Costs

As already explained, under a system of protection the consumer is compelled to pay a tax upon all imported goods that come under the tariff schedule. Upon all goods of domestic origin, produced under a protective system, the consumer must likewise pay a tax—although in this case the revenue finds its way to the bank account of private individuals alone. Now it has been estimated that the domestic trade of Canada alone is at least four times as great as the country's foreign trade,

and in the United States seven times as great. It follows that for every dollar collected by way of customs dues, at least four dollars are paid to private individuals. When one considers that the customs revenues for the year ending March 31, 1916, was \$133,000,000 and that four times that sum was paid in addition to the protected interests, it will be seen what a crushing weight is laid upon the country's consumers. And in view of the fact that current figures show the customs revenue to be increasing by leaps and bounds, the amount paid to private individuals must necessarily increase at an accelerating ratio. Just how the Protective Tariff affects the farming community will be seen by studying the duties laid upon goods used from the time that a farmer builds a house upon his homestead until it is furnished.

Rate of Tariff Taxation—Building Materials

Nails	67½	per 100 lbs.
Window Glass	42½	per cent.
Lumber	32½	per cent.
Sash and Doors	32½	" "
Wire Doors and Windows . .	37½	" "
Locks, hinges, etc	42½	" "
Lime	25	" "
Brick	30	" "
Paints	37½	" "

Household Goods

Stoves	32½	per cent.
Pots and Pans	42½	" "
Tea Kettles	42½	" "
Brooms and Brushes	27½	" "
Bacon	02c.	per pound
Barrel of Flour	60c.	
Yeast and Baking Powder	06c.	per pound
Oatmeal	75c.	per 100 lbs.
Canned Goods	4½	per pound
Barrel of Apples	90c.	
Coffee	05c.	per pound
Tea	Free	
Rice	75c.	per 100 lbs.
Biscuits	42½	per cent.
Salt	07½	per 100 lbs.
Starch	01½	per pound
Ginger	03c.	per pound
Canned Meats	27½	per cent.
Fresh Meat	03c.	per pound
Fresh Tomatoes	30	per cent.
Common Soap	01c.	per pound

Home Furnishings

Dresser	37½	per cent.
Chairs	37½	" "
Looking Glass	27½	" "
Bed	37½	" "
Counterpanes	42½	" "
Blankets	42½	" "
Pillow Cases	42½	" "
Sheets	42½	" "
Combs and Brushes	37½	" "
Mattress	40	" "
Lamps	40	" "
Hairpins	42½	" "
Jewellery	Free	
Diamonds	Free	

Clothing

Flannels	42½	per cent.
Boots and Shoes	37½	" "
Underclothes	42½	" "
Mitts	42½	" "
Hats and Caps	42½	" "
Cotton	32½	" "
India Rubber Boots	32	" "
India Rubber Clothing	42½	" "

But this is not all. In preparing to plant his crop the farmer must equip himself with, and pay taxes upon, the implements used in his work:

Taxes on Farm Implements

Plow	27½	per cent.
Harrow	27½	" "
Seed Drill	27½	" "
Spreader	27½	" "
Binder	12½	" "
Mower	12½	" "
Horse Rake	20	" "
Traction Engine	27½	" "
Threshing Machine	27½	" "
Hay Loader	32	" "
Potato Digger	32	" "
Grain Crusher	32	" "
Fanning Mill	32	" "
Axe	30	" "
Hoe, Rake, Pronged Fork	30	" "
Lawn Mower	30	" "
Wagon	32½	" "
Buggy	42½	" "
Harness	37½	" "
Barber Wire	Free	
Cream Separator	"	

Plunder on Boots and Shoes

Let us consider somewhat more specifically just what the Protective Tariff costs the people of Canada, and

how it affects wages. The Census Bureau gives the following data on the Canadian boot and shoe industry for the census year 1910:

Value of home-made products	\$33,967,248
Number of employees	17,227
Salaries and wages paid	7,698,333

The average wage per annum for each employee was \$446 or about \$1.50 per day—not an exceptional wage by any means, and certainly not one that can justify the contention that a high tariff raises the wages of labor.

During the year ending March 31, 1911, Canada imported \$2,045,835 worth of boots and shoes, the duty upon which was \$585,996.71. In that year the Dominion imported six times the value of boots and shoes from the United States that it did from Britain and paid duty thereon amounting to \$522,809.70, equal to 30 per cent. The value of the domestic product for that year is given as \$33,967,248, of which \$60,935 was exported. Now, if our contention is sound; that the manufacturers add the full amount of their protection to the selling price of the commodity when disposed of in the home market, the people of Canada paid that year, by way of taxes, the following sums:

Customs duties	\$ 585,996.71
To the manufacturer	10,177,893.90

\$10,763,890.61

Wages and salaries paid 7,698,333.00

\$ 3,065,557.61

That is to say the Canadian people paid by way of taxes, directly and indirectly, more than \$3,000,000 in excess of the total wages and salaries received by employees in the boot and shoe industry during the same period. If we were to consider the interests of the country and of the wage-earning classes alone, it would have paid the people to have scrapped every boot and shoe factory in the land, handed over to the workers their full wages, and to have paid a direct subsidy to the government of more than \$3,000,000. And the nation would have gained enormously thereby, especially if the artisan had been put at some truly productive work.

Making Cotton Barons

On turning to the cotton industry we find that it has assumed great proportions in this country; but as a revenue producer it is a failure. According to the figures furnished by the Census Bureau for the year 1910, raw materials were imported duty free for this industry to the extent of \$11,738,801. The value of domestic manufacturers was \$24,584,931, of which \$299,082 was exported. In the same year importations of manufactured cottons amounted to \$21,177,258, on which \$4,774,320 was paid in duties — an average of 22½ per cent.

The cotton industry employed in the same year 13,041 operatives, paying to them in wages and salaries \$4,828,527 — an average of \$370 per annum, or \$1.18 per day. If it be assumed that the manufacturers charge the consumer the same prices as the importers paid, plus the duty, the people of Canada handed over to the cotton manufacturers \$5,464,316 — a total tax in all, including tariff duties, of \$10,238,636. Thus for every dollar paid in wages by the manufacturers the people of Canada paid in taxes \$1.25. Canadians, therefore, were forced to pay through the nose for this "infant industry."

The Ford Automobile

An illuminating example of how protection raises the price of domestic manufactured products is found in the automobile industry. On August 1, 1916, advertisements appeared simultaneously in American and Canadian newspapers announcing the prices of Ford cars for the ensuing year. Although the Canadian factories are located just across the river from the Detroit plant, in each case there was a very considerable difference in the price of Ford automobiles here and in the United States. This is seen from a glance at the following figures:

New Ford Prices, August 1, 1916

Type of Car	F.O.B. Ford, Ont.	F.O.B. Detroit, U.S.A.
Chassis	\$450	\$325
Runabout	475	345
Touring car	495	360
Coupelet	695	505
Town car	780	595
Sedan	890	645

There is a difference of \$135 between the prices of the Canadian and American product on the touring car, the type in most general use. As the company announced that it expected an output of 60,000 cars from the Canadian plant during the ensuing year, it will be seen that the duty must have made a difference of over \$8,100,000 in the cost of Ford cars alone to Canadian consumers. The public treasury received no benefit and it cost the Canadian people just \$8,100,000 to keep that factory in Canada. It would have been cheaper to pension all the employees. In fact, the automobile industry furnishes striking and irrefutable evidence that, in almost every case, the domestic manufacturer charges the consumer the full amount of the tariff laid upon the imported product.

The Cannery Combine

Recent quotations on canned goods show an increase of approximately 100 per cent. on tomatoes, corn and pumpkin, as compared with a year ago. The cannery justify these increases on the ground that the tomato crop is only 25 per cent., corn 50 per cent. and pumpkin 30 per cent. of normal. Naturally, under these conditions, it might be expected that canned goods would advance in price if sole reliance had to be placed upon this year's crop and the current output. But the books of Canadian canners show stock valued at \$2,427,000 carried over from last year, which present conditions should in no wise affect. There is a duty of 1½ cents per pound on canned products, including weight of cans, nails, boxes, etc., coming into this country. Tomatoes, in the spring of 1917, were being brought into Winnipeg from Baltimore under a customs charge of \$1.00 per case of 24 cans (66-70 lbs.) or about four cents per can. Even under those conditions the imported goods were sold more cheaply than the Canadian product. The Financial Post of Toronto jubilates as follows over the situation:

"Through the operation of Canadian Cannery (the holding company of the different canning interests) the Canadian situation is well in hand as regards price maintenance; and as prices

are also high in the United States, and duties and freight must be added, competition from that quarter is not to be seriously feared."

Competition, however, would be feared if the duties on canned products were eliminated. And with the smashing of the tariff wall this huge combine which is mulcting the consumers of this country to pay interest and dividends upon watered stocks would be quickly broken up into its constituent parts, much to the advantage of the whole Dominion.

Customs Department Autocracy

Only last year (1916) one of the large farmers' bodies, organized to do business by and in behalf of the farmers of the prairie provinces, came into conflict with the customs department and its appraisers in Winnipeg. This organization deals in farm supplies, selling direct to farmers' organizations and to individual farmers. On certain of these commodities the appraiser refused to assess duties at wholesale rates, denying the body the status of jobbers. In addition many commodities were appraised at prices higher than those at which the invoices testified that the goods had been bought; and, to cap the climax, dumping duties were placed upon certain goods that were manufactured in the United States for export trade only, and for which therefore no domestic prices were obtainable. An appeal was made to the Board of Customs at Ottawa for redress. Space will not permit of our giving details of all the commodities involved, and one example, therefore, must suffice. The price paid by this organization for its three-bottom engine gang plow was \$87.00, but the customs appraiser valued it at \$103.79. The duty at the regular tariff rate of 27½ per cent. ad valorem, including war tax, on \$103.79 amounts to \$28.60 and dumping duty to \$16.79—or a total of \$45.39, equal to 52 per cent. ad valorem on the purchase price, whereas the regular tariff rate was 27½ per cent. The reader will see therefore that the Canadian consumer in many instances is forced to submit, not only to the rates as shown on the tariff schedule, but to additional arbitrary rates as well.

Just after the federal reciprocity campaign of 1911, it will be recalled that the electors of the province of Saskatchewan gave an emphatic verdict in favor of the reciprocity proposals—a verdict all the more emphatic because the protectionists of Canada imagined that the election of 1911 had settled the issue for a decade at least. The Toronto News commented upon the Saskatchewan election as follows:

"We deny that the voice of Canada. We deny that it is even the voice of the West. The industrial workers of Ontario, however, have as much right to declare their own opinions and adhere to their own convictions as have the grain growers of Saskatchewan. Neither here nor there, however, will intimidation or coercion prevail. This is a free country with equal rights for citizens in older and in newer Canada, and by the decision of the majority all will abide."

Protectionist Organ Vanquished

The Grain Growers' Guide, of Winnipeg, took up the gage of battle thrown down by The News and replied in behalf of Western farmers. The Guide went further, placing five specific questions before The News for answer, and promised to reprint in full in its columns anything that The News might have to say upon the subject, provided that that paper would reprint The Guide's reply. The News omitted the whole of The Guide's article, with the exception of the five questions asked, while the latter paper printed everything pertaining to the controversy. The Guide's questions were as follows:

- 1.—State definitely any two considerable industries that would be ruined by gradual tariff reduction resulting in absolute free trade in five years. Give some facts to substantiate your answer, as general statements prove nothing.
- 2.—Do you admit that the Protective Tariff allows the manufacturers to charge higher prices than they could get under free trade
- 3.—If your contention be true that free trade would prevent the development of manufacturing industries in western Canada, how do you account for the growth of manufacturing in the west-

ern States in the face of unrestricted competition from the great industrial organizations of the Eastern States?

4.—If reciprocity with the United States would lead to annexation, as you claim, would not the same result follow if the Americans voluntarily abolished their own tariff on Canadian goods? If this be so, how do you account for the fact that those Americans whom you claim are anxious to gobble up Canada, have not seized upon such an easy and peaceable method?

5.—Where is the ever-growing surplus of western wheat to find a market? Canada cannot consume it and the British market is already taking all it can absorb. Why should we search the world for a market when it lies right at our door? We do not consider "mixed farming" or Imperial preference are practical answers to the question, as Great Britain is not prepared for preference, and the western farmer cannot be driven into "mixed farming" in time to affect the immediate problem.

The News answered in a lengthy article, traversing well-trodden ground. Boiled down, its reply in substance was as follows: The woollen industry and the binder twine industry have been demoralized, the one by low duties and the other by the abolition of the tariff. Instead of replying specifically to the second query, The News contented itself with asserting that the great American combines, under free trade, would first depress prices and then raise them once they controlled the market. It explained that manufacturing had developed in the western states owing to the high freight rates, which operate virtually as a Protective Tariff. The News contended that it mattered nothing what Americans themselves did with their tariff, but that the reduction or the abolition of the Canadian customs tariff would gradually lead to this country's absorption by the Republic. In reply to the fifth query it explained that Canada, under present conditions, was furnishing only a small part of the wheat supply of the United Kingdom, and that under a preferential tariff this country, together with India, could supply all Great Britain's needs.

The reply of The Grain Growers' Guide gave The News the coup de

grace, and, incidentally, put an end to the controversy. The Guide proved that where the woollen industry was efficiently organized—as in the case of Stanfield's and Penman's—it had met with success, and that the greater number of small industries that had gone out of business had not been efficiently conducted. As for the decline in sheep-raising in the Dominion, it was foolish to carry on a business at a loss, especially when the farmers of the Dominion had abundant scope for their efforts in other directions. The binder twine industry had lost ground, it was true, but there were still factories in existence operating at a profit, while the farmers of the country had saved hundreds of thousands of dollars by getting their twine at reduced prices. That in turn gave them greater buying power and provided a larger market for Canadian-manufactured products. The Guide further quoted Sir George Foster—the high apostle of protectionism—to the effect that if a Protective Tariff did not raise prices it was worthless, that that was specifically the justification for its existence. The Guide contended that the manufacturers of the western states in the American Union were subjected to intense competition from the East, within a free trade territory, and that these industries had developed naturally and inevitably. If higher freight rates alone accounted for the growth of western American manufacturers, then like conditions should have established factories in the Canadian west, where freight rates were equally high. Notwithstanding the fact that more than half of Canada's foreign trade is carried on with the United States, the feeling of loyalty to the motherland had never been so strong. And, finally, Canada could not hope to monopolize, or come anywhere near monopolizing, the British wheat markets since the United Kingdom trades with all countries of the world; from some of which—notably Russia, Roumania, Argentina and Australia—she can receive hardly anything else save grain and raw materials in exchange for her manufactured products. Limits of space, however, will not permit of our dealing with this controversy between a free trade organ and one published in behalf of the protected inter-

ests further. Suffice to say The News was out-generalled and out-gunned.

The Combine Evil

The Protective Tariff has ruined commerce and industry in many small country towns. It has placed country merchants at a serious disadvantage in competing with their huge rivals in the cities, since the small merchant has not the available capital necessary to advance tariff taxes before these are collected from the consumer. Moreover, the tariff has fostered trusts and combines, concentrating industries at certain strategic points, and eliminating the factory in the smaller centres. How far the merger movement has gone in Canada is not generally realized. Fred. W. Field, editor of the Monetary Times of Toronto, has presented some illuminating data on this point, as follows:

"The number of industrial mergers negotiated in the Dominion from January, 1909, to January, 1913, was 56. The aggregate authorized capitalization (including bonds) of these mergers was \$456,938,266. The 56 amalgamations absorbed 248 individual companies. The aggregate capitalization of 206 of these individual companies was approximately \$167,289,182, which amount in various ways increased upon amalgamation. The 40 securities issued to the public, resulting from the amalgamation movement, totalled \$57,346,666. With 16 of these, amounting to \$16,500,000, an aggregate bonus of \$6,750,000 was given. The largest consolidation was the Canada Cement Company, which absorbed 12 companies. Its authorized capitalization, including bonds, amounted to \$38,000,000.

Amalgamation operations have not been confined to one or a few classes of commodities. Companies handling soap, cereals, asbestos, bread, flour, milk, cars, leather, lumber, cement, dried fish, carriages, bolts and nuts, steel, coal, ice, felts, shoes, furs, crockery, paint and jewellery, have all seen apparent or real gain in a combination of interests. Arrangements have also been made between navigation, light and power, brewery, caning, retail box and numerous other companies. These instances are sufficient to exemplify the wide-spread nature of what is a new feature in Canadian commerce and finance."

Truly the tariff is "the mother of trusts" and when it is abolished the trusts, with their high prices, unfair competition with the small producer and unfair practices, are bound to be broken up. Free trade England is free also of the trust which flourishes in every protected country in the world. According to the program of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, printed elsewhere, it is proposed to reduce the customs duty upon goods imported from Great Britain into Canada to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff, and to make further gradual, uniform reductions in the remaining tariff upon British imports so that within five years complete free trade between Great Britain and Canada will be assured.

In contradistinction to this liberal and just program, the high protectionists of this country propose the establishment of Imperial Preferential Trade, under which — although no clear-cut scheme has ever been offered for consideration — the people of the United Kingdom will consent to tax food products secured from foreign sources while admitting Canadian agricultural products into their markets duty free, or at reduced rates. English protectionists expect, in return, that Canada will increase the preference already granted on Canadian products. In the past the British preference has been largely a delusion and a snare, for while the protectionists of this country shout their loyalty from the house-tops, they have taken good care that the British preference does not menace their entrenched position in the domestic market. As part of the whole grandiose scheme it is proposed that Canada join with the United Kingdom and its allies in carrying on a trade war after the present military struggle shall have been terminated, against the Central European powers.

Trade War Iniquitous

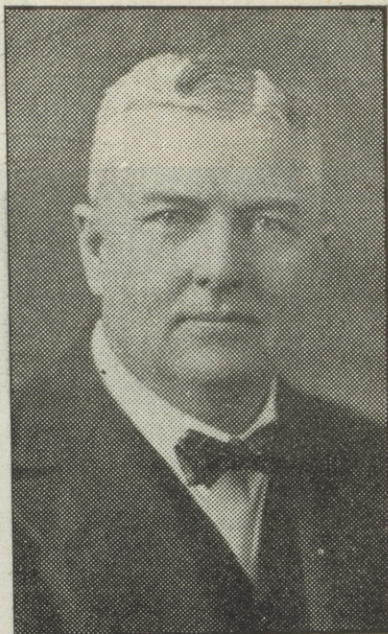
To all thoughtful Canadians the scheme for "war after the war," approved at the Paris conference, is abhorrent. Trade is not warfare for which retaliatory weapons are required. It is a benefit to obtain goods as well as to sell them; and in the long run the one cannot be done without the other.

Moreover trade wars have in the past inevitably led to military struggles, and would as inevitably do so in the future. If we penalize Germany's trade after the war it will lead to retaliation and raise up insuperable barriers for the carrying on of trade with Central Europe. All students of the question know that England is the greatest trading nation in the world—that her foreign trade is not only the largest but that she has the largest banking business and the greatest merchant marine as well. It is safe to say that free trade England will not reverse her hitherto enlightened tariff policy for the sake of indulging a grudge or exploiting a sentiment. Englishmen know full well that it is not sound fiscal policy to foster or create industries by the imposition of duties only to destroy those industries when the duties are repealed, as they must be in the long run. It is absurd to imagine that we can permanently exclude from the trade of the world 125,000,000 of among the most enlightened peoples of Europe. It is simply not British, and it is not playing the game. The military power of the German aristocratic caste must be smashed beyond peradventure, but it is no part of democracy's aims or ideals to destroy any people.

In concluding this section let us emphasize the fact that the farmers of Canada stand for the carrying into effect of the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911 — the whole program and not merely that part which pertains to wheat and flour. They demand that all foodstuffs not included in that agreement be placed on the free list; and that agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, fertilizers, coal, lumber, cement, illuminating oils and lubricating oils be also placed on the free list. They demand further that the customs tariff on all the necessities of life be materially reduced; and that all tariff concessions granted to other countries be immediately extended to Great Britain.

This is an enlightened program, fearless and fair, offered without prejudice to any legitimate industry, and one in which surely all democratic Canadians can whole-heartedly join.

(To be continued next issue)



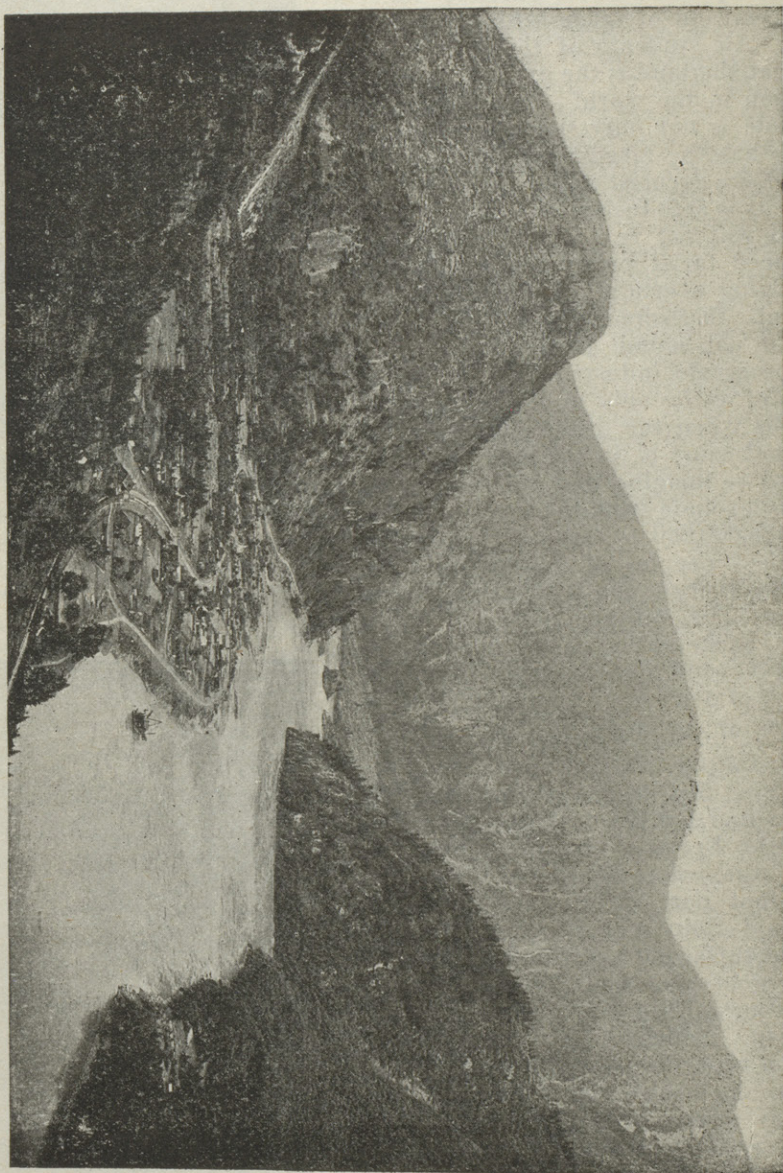
Mr. U. E. GILLEN,

Vice-President in charge of Operation, Grand Trunk Railway System, began his railroad career as Clerk and Telegraph Operator.



Mr. J. E. DALRYMPLE,

Vice-President, Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways. For more than thirty years Mr. Dalrymple has been identified with the one great carrier system, the Grand Trunk, and has worked his way upward from a junior clerkship in the Treasurer's Department to offices of high executive responsibility.



YALE, B. C. — C. P. R.

Paving by Direct Labor vs Contract Work

By CHARLES A. MULLEN

Director of Paving Department — Milton Hersey Company, Limited,
Industrial Chemists, Inspectors, Consulting Engineers.
MONTREAL and WINNIPEG

A statement of the advantages of doing municipal paving work by direct employment. If there are any disadvantages entitled to legitimate consideration, the writer does not know of them at this time.

DIRECT LABOR

vs.

CONTRACT LABOR

The City can, if it will, employ the best men, purchase the best materials and equipment, and proceed with paving or other public work in the best possible way. No one can do better.

The City, having control of a definite and large amount of work, can employ men steadily, and guarantee them better working conditions.

The City, having control of the full purchasing power, and a knowledge of the local supply, can secure the best unit prices and the best deliveries.

The City, knowing that it will be in business this year, next year and the year after, can afford to purchase and install the most modern and efficient equipment; and to acquire sources of the supply of materials wherever possible.

The City knows it can proceed with its paving industry in a definite and assured manner, with more work to do each year, and its equipment never idle or scrapped for lack of work ahead.

The City knows it can do the work as economically as any one. If labor gets more pay, the cost goes up correspondingly; and no more. If labor becomes efficient, this results in a benefit to the general public. The City gets what it pays for; and pays for what it gets.

The Contractor can, if he will, employ the same men, purchase the same materials and equipment, and proceed with paving and other public work in the very same way; and no better.

The Contractor depending upon the chance of each letting of contracts for his work, cannot guarantee men steady employment.

The Contractor, having control of but that part of the purchasing power embraced in his contract, cannot secure the best unit prices or the best deliveries.

The Contractor, not knowing that he will ever get another job at the same place, must be very circumspect in making investments; and frequently uses inferior machinery because it represents a much smaller possible capital loss.

The Contractor has no assurance of what to-morrow will bring. He takes a gambler's chance; and charges for it in the price of the pavement. Gamblers' chances do not wear well as street surfaces.

The Contractor knows he cannot do the work as economically as the City; so he pays his men less and works them harder to overcome the difference. To this handicap he must add his various overhead expenses; and last, but not least, what he considers a fair profit.

The City employees have no incentive to do poor work. They do not profit by putting less than the required amount of material into a mixture, or by laying less than the required thickness. If their work is not good, they are very likely to lose their jobs. The quality of the work is the primary factor; the cost is secondary.

The City manager of public works will require, if he is a good man at his job, that the work be well done, without the waste of either labor or material, so that ultimate human economy will be attained.

The City can do all its own paving under one centralized management. It occupies but one office, employs but one estimator, one cashier, and one overhead organization throughout; thereby effecting the greatest possible economy in those who are indirect and not direct producers. There is no duplication.

The City employees do public work with a view to having it last as long as possible at a given unit cost that is based on a study of ultimate economy. They have not in mind the showing of a profit on their employer's books, and can work scientifically and unhampered.

There is a story still current of two contractors who built a wall. One stayed behind to hold it up while the other went down to get payment for it. All contractors, fortunately, are not of this type. Some walls can stand alone.

The City can re-use all old material that is taken from the street in the process of preparing it for paving, or other old material that it may be securing at the same time from other sources, or that it may have on hand. This is a large item that will grow as the years pass.

The City will do the best possible job under a given specification. It is to the City's interest to do so. People can be depended upon to follow out their legitimate interests.

The Contractor's employees have no incentive to do good work. Their employer profits by putting less than the required amount of material into a mixture, or by laying less than the required thickness. If their work is not cheap, they are very likely to lose their jobs. The cost of the work is the primary factor; the quality is secondary.

The Contractor manager of public work will require, if he is a good man at his job, that the work be done at a profit; honestly, if possible, but at a profit anyhow. He has no thought of ultimate human economy in the matter.

The Contractor must have his own overhead management; and each other contractor competing with him must have the same. He must have his separate office, his separate estimator, his separate cashier and his separate complete staff of clerks, whether he always has business for them or not. This is duplication.

The Contractor does public work with a view to having it last,—if he is a wise contractor,—at least until he can get to the City Hall and collect the money. All contractors have not been wise, and some paving work the writer has in mind did not even last that long.

The Contractor cannot be trusted to use old materials judiciously; and, if he could, it is almost beyond human possibility to draw a contract, in most cases that would give reasonably definite limits for the re-use of old materials, and a just credit therefore to the City.

The Contractor will do the cheapest possible job under a given specification. It is to the Contractor's interest to do so. He is frankly in business to make all the money he can.

The difference between the best job and the poorest job that can be done under the standard specifications for asphalt pavement is very considerable; yet, both will meet the requirements of the specifications, and the contractor would be able to collect the same amount of money for the poorest as for the best. Specifications must be drawn with some latitude, or they are unworkable and will not hold at law.

The City can easily adapt its work to any change in conditions, as time, materials, supplies, the public demand, and more modern knowledge seem to dictate. It makes no ironbound contract with itself.

The Contractor will stick to his contract, and if the City wants to make a change, the City will have to pay the Contractor liberally for the privilege of doing so, as he has acquired definite contract rights that the City may not alter.

The City of New York built a driveway for speeding horses about ten years after the public had taken to speeding automobiles. The contract had been let many years before, and while the preliminary work of regulating and grading was in progress, the public demand changed. This was a contract running into several millions of dollars.

The City does not need to give itself a surety bond. It wants the work done, can do it, and proceeds at once with the actual construction.

The Contractor must give the City a bond, which costs him in the neighborhood of one cent per square yard. This he adds to the price he quotes the City.

Contractors' surety company bonds are notoriously not good, as the writer found out in detail at Schenectady, New York, where a contractor, whose City specifications had called for concrete under the curb, had "forgotten" it; and, when this was found out, the City was unable to collect damages from him or his surety, or to make him deliver the goods for which one of his former associates in the City employ had paid him.

The City does not need to give itself a guarantee. It does the work itself, knows what it is and whether or not it will last. City-made pavements usually do last; without the guarantee.

The Contractor gives the City a guarantee bond. The bonding company charges him about one cent per square yard for this; which the Contractor also adds to the price he quotes the City for doing the work.

What the City wants is good pavements on its streets, not red tape and gilt sealed guarantees on bonding company stationery. A good asphalt pavement should last ten years on a heavy traffic street; and one has now lasted thirty-seven years on a medium traffic street, Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C., laid in 1879, in front of the old Arlington Hotel. Why then should a City be satisfied with a pavement that is only guarantee by some contractor and his bonding company to last five years, and laid by the Contractor of the cheapest quality that he thinks will last just five years and one day.

If the Contractor's pavement fails before his five year guarantee expires, the bonding company pays its lawyers liberal fees to prove it wasn't the Contractor's fault any way; and the lawyer usually succeeds in winning the case.

The following paragraph from an article by Mr. E. M. Perdue, Chemical and Consulting Engineer, Kansas City, Missouri, published in the December 1910 issue of Municipal Engineering, is very interesting on this point;

"As asphalt pavement is not laid as a matter of municipal improvement but as a means of exploiting the abutting property owner and mulcting him in liability for special assessments, it is deemed necessary to require a "maintenance bond". This is a two-edged sword, cutting the property owner both ways. The surety is an approved bonding company. This company charges a premium. The Contractor adds this premium to his bid. The property owners complain of the high cost of the pavement. He is told of the high cost of the surety bond and maintenance. A poor pavement is laid under the common wide-open specification. The property owner complains of the quality of the pavement, and the city engineer and board of public works tell him that it makes no difference as the paving company is under bond to maintain the pavement for ten years. The pavement disintegrates in two years. The property owners complain. Then ensues an eight years' game of hide and seek between the paving company and four succeeding boards of public works. In the meantime the pavement is a series of bumps and holes and the city has paid several judgments for damages for personal injuries thereon."

"The "wide-open" specifications above referred to, are those so poorly drawn that they are wide-open as to quality, material and workmanship that may be furnished under them, so that the contractor can do the cheapest possible job. The same specifications are usually equally closed-tight to any honest competition, so that no one but the favored contractor or contractors can get the work, and so they can secure a monopoly price by corrupt agreement. If a city must let contracts for its paving, what it requires is a specification that is wide-open to competition on a basis of a definite unit and closed-tight to poor material and workmanship.

The City asphalt plants have never been known to bribe or attempt to bribe city inspectors, city engineers, city superintendents or the mayors of cities.

The Contractors have been notoriously guilty of bribery in all its forms, even reaching in some cases to the bribery of state legislatures and the governors of states.

The history of American municipalities is replete with incidents where politico-contracting rings have been formed and have selected their own mayors and city councilmen. In most cases, they have exacted a profit of over one hundred per cent on their work to cover the expense of the political corruption. The writer has followed two such city administrations into office, in each case reducing the cost of paving by about one-half.

The City does not need to employ "stand-up" inspectors on its own work. It only requires a force of men to control and direct its operations, and these men can proceed without outside interference from counter interests.

The Contractor must employ the same men to control and direct his work that the City would require, and the City must then employ and pay additional expert men as "stand-up" inspectors to see that the Contractor's men do as directed.

There never was an inspection force that a contractor's men could not possibly put-over to some extent. The ways of doing this are many and ingenious. All possible means are usually employed to influence City inspectors to let the contractor "make a little money", ranging from direct payments to a campaign of sociability including every allurement under the sun, and some that are not.

The City usually has in the bank, while the work is in progress, the money to pay for the work as it is completed. If this money is not being used by the City, the bank has it to loan to the contractor at a high rate of interest.

The Contractor usually goes to the bank, borrows practically the City's money, pays interests on it, and then charges the City interest for the use of practically its own money, figured as an overhead cost into the Contractor's unit price for paving.

The Contractor asks for from twenty per cent up, over and above the actual cost of production, including the overhead and contingencies, for his services as fiscal agent; and this in a case where clearly no fiscal agent is needed.

The City asphalt plants do not hire lawyers to bring suit against the city for "extras", breach of contract, and a number of other items well known to the legal profession.

The Contractor frequently works on the basis that there is more money in suing the City than in doing the work. He knows how to trump all sorts of fictitious claims, and his lawyers frequently put them over.

Recently, in New York, a Contractor decided that he had bid too low on a large sewer contract, and consulted a well known firm of lawyers who are specialists in municipal contracts. The result was that the contractor "laid down" on the job, as much as his lawyer thought advisable, until the City authorities became so exasperated that they rescinded this contract and relet it at a higher price. The Contractor, who had been "cooking up" evidence all the time, then sued the City for his "anticipated profits", and got a judgment for over one hundred thousand dollars; though it was privately known among his competitors and associates that had he completed the job at his contract price he would have been bankrupted. The City paid the first contractor over one hundred thousand dollars, and then paid the second contractor a profit on his work at the higher price. A library could be filled with just such instances of loss to the City because of the system of doing public work by private contract.

The moneys paid out to lawyers alone, during the past twenty years, in litigation between paving contractors and municipalities, would defray the expense of opening and paving a broad highway across the continent, and leave a sufficient balance to create a fund, the interest from which would maintain such highway in perfect condition forever. Unfortunately, we can neither ride nor drive on lawyers' bills. They must be paid, and charged to the dead loss column; and much of the money goes to purchase automobiles, wines, and so forth, instead into building and paving roadways.

The City, in doing its own work, will make many improvements in the equipment for and process of manufacture, and the improvements will belong to the City.

The Contractor, in doing the City's work, will also make some improvements in the equipment for and the process of manufacture, and these improvements will belong to him.

The City lays street paving for use. All its employees' efforts are naturally bent in the direction of securing the greatest use value.

The Contractor lays street paving for profit. All his employees' efforts are naturally bent in the direction of extracting the greatest possible profit.

The City that, having its own municipal asphalt plants, talks of abandoning them to go back to the contract system, if its officials are honest but misguided, merely seeks to exchange the evils that it knows for the far greater evils

that it knows not. The City government that is too incompetent to do work by direct employment will also be too incompetent to get any but the worst results from the contract system, plus all the disadvantages above enumerated.

In conclusion, whenever a City government is in a position to take the entire output of an economical unit of any industry, the City should own such a unit of that industry and operate it by direct labor efficiently employed under specialists in the particular field, paying the best of wages, maintaining the best possible working conditions, and requiring faithful and loyal public service from the men employed therein. A City will thereby create its own public monopoly, doing away with the duplication, and waste, and private profit for which no adequate service is rendered, that are the undeniable fruits of competition for the right to take an unearned profit from the City treasury.



C. P. R. Place Viger Hotel, Montreal.

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WOMAN AND THE WAR

by Mrs. ROSE HENDERSON

ONLY a few years ago the women of this Dominion asked for the ballot and where refused it flatly. A change has occurred since then; now they are entitled to the Federal and Provincial both, in all but three provinces. Nova-Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Quebec. Out of self-protection or self respect, these three provinces will have to follow in line. This revolution has not been confined to Canada, it is practically world-wide. War is the great leaver which has turned woman, body and soul out of the home into the industrial and political arena to scramble as best she could, unorganized, untrained and unrepresented.

The ballot was handed to her with but little to-do. Certainly a few women put up a determined fight but the masses of women at no time, and at no place were with them, so that it would be wrong to include that woman's political emancipation came about solely through their own efforts and desire for freedom. Greater forces are at work carving the pathway out of the human jungle over which the woman of the future will travel.

It could not be expected that woman would have any great desire for freedom. She was enslaved without knowing it. She accepted her situation meekly as the will of God, and man. She was born and reared in subjection. Her mother before her wore the badge and emblem of humility and servitude. She was held as a species of property along with chattels, animals and real estate, created as the Hebrews tell us, "Solely for the pleasure of man," but "man was created for the glory of God" Petruchio in the "Taming of the Shrew" expresses the idea when he says "I will be master of what is mine own. She is my goods, my chattels, she is my house, my household stuff, my barn and so forth." This conception of woman's status and place is also expressed in the marriage service when some male relative must be there to answer the question "Who gives this woman away." Thus it will be seen for ages, church and state were one in their laws,

and teachings of woman's subjection, mental and spiritual inferiority. Even to-day in most churches she cannot sit and vote in their councils, or be ordained as a minister. May we wonder then, at woman's conservatism and lack of militant social force?

"Her very chains and she grew
friends,
So much a long communion tends,
To make us what we are"

The unfortunate and tragic part of the whole story is, that while one end of the chain was fastened around her neck, the other end was securely tightened around the man's ankle, and so blinded was he by his supposed freedom and superiority, he never detected the fact of his own slavery. She brought after her kind, and judging from the conditions of the world to-day no thinking man or woman can point with pride to the result. Never at any time did she allow man to go far afield, commercially yes, but mentally and spiritually, they are both slaves, and must remain so until woman is free.

The war is the great anvil on which the slave-chain is being broken. On the wheel of eternal change whether he will, or she will not, both are being hurled into the great melting pot to be beaten, battered, bruised and remoulded into a new humanity, nearer the desire of the new age now winging its way into the minds and souls of mankind the world over. One remarkable fact during this war is, that although women have been uprooted bodily from their ancient traditions and occupations, they do not apparently realize the vast changes taking place and how these changes are bound to affect them. Individually here and there a woman has spoken. Collectively they have not with any degree of intelligent social preception of cause and effect. Men too for the most part have left this very important subject to take care of itself yet there is no subject more important not even war itself.

Mighty are the changes wrought through war in the world of man, but mightier by far are those taking place in the world of woman. It may not seem logical to separate the world of man and woman, but since woman bears, moulds and nurtures the race, and must continue to do so, what affects her and the unborn generations is basic and fundamental: a thousand times more important than man's mechanical inventions and material enterprises. These important as they are, are but a means to an end. The end is race betterment, life more beautiful and abundant. If this is not so, then creation is a ghastly horror and the gentle art of slaughter, rape and plunder is a fitting ideal to follow. "Rest and prepare to rise and kill again", a fitting motto to be engraven on the heart of every child, so that we will be sure of making the job as perfect as possible next time. The string tying woman for centuries to man through convention, tradition, economic dependance and law has suddenly been severed. She finds herself afloat in the great ocean of life but not alone. There also are others of her sex; and her men folk as well, all in wild competition against her. Industrially she is untrained, although always taking part to some degree in occupations outside the home, she has mostly been under the direction of men, hired, fired and exploited by them. Industrially and sexually she has, and is, being exploited to the bone, yet she fears organization as she fears the sting of an adder. Industrially she represents a huge unorganized mass, a hindrance to organized labor.

Less than a century ago she had entered only seven occupations. To-day she is competing successfully against men in all industries, save six or seven, such as killing animals, hanging men, driving locomotives, chimney sweeping and climbing poles. The war has accentuated and driven her by thousands into every industry. She is making herself felt, unfortunately at present, neither for her own or humanity's good. This she must realize but men too must help her to see it. Now she sells her labor even when doing the same work for less wages than men, she works longer hours and ra-

rely complains about abominable sanitary conditions. She does not hesitate to take men's places when they are fighting for better conditions. By reducing wages, she lowers the standard of home, sending mothers out of the homes to work, young girls, on to the streets and children out of the school, into the factory. Through taking men's places she enables employers to dilute labor and destroy trade unionism. Through long hours and bad sanitary conditions, health and morals must suffer. All this she does, but unknowingly from lack of experience and fear of losing her job and from this point of view is a load on the back of the labor movement.

Labor cannot shake off this load. It must be borne until women are organized and politically represented. Women are in industry to stay. The question is, how much longer are men going to keep closed their organizations and allow employers to use women against them. This is the question Labor organizations must help solve.

War has taken the last vestige of femininity from women. They are now registered, tagged and pigeon-holed at Ottawa the same as the men, to be in readiness when the necessity arises for the industrial draft. They have been literally handed the trousers and told to be ready to man the street cars, the farms, mines and factories, thus capital has passed one more mill stone in its final exit.

The mainstay of the nation is the home. Woman cannot serve two masters. Mammon and the race. It was never intended that women should bear the children, and work as men do in industry. What effect this is having and will have on future generations is now to some extent being made very clear. Already there are indications that this industrial revolution is not a boon to mankind. Child Delinquency is increasing enormously everywhere from such causes we are told, as relaxed parental authority, high prices of food and low wages, the latter driving mothers out of the home to earn their children's bread. War is taking the father, school and labor laws are relaxed, the children are on the streets, uneducated, undisciplined and undernourished. The result is an

increase of child delinquency a lowering of the race.

Doctors tell us that the birth rate is falling and that the children born are under sized, that there is an enormous increase in premature births and that mothers are unable to nurse their children. War is laying the axe at the root of the family tree, while the war has taken something like four million lives, starvation has claimed almost five millions of the civil population. Undoubtedly the greater number of these being women and children. Yet in spite of these facts, statesmen and ministers of the gospel are calling loudly to women to be patriotic "bear more children, be fruitful and multiply". Fortunately women are developing a mind of their own on this matter and will have something definite to say when the war is over.

Morally and socially how has the war affected her? Social and war workers, magistrates and ministers are at their wits end trying to cope with the girl problem. Most of them frankly confess its beyond them. Every moral restriction, convention and ordinary safeguard, are cast aside and girls are as free as men to select their friends, their pleasures and their occupations at all hours, night and day, in all sorts of places, hotel concerts, picture shows, theatres and restaurants accompanied by women or men as the case may be, going where they will, taking pleasures as they will, and carrying their latchkeys, as a matter of course. She works in all sorts of places with all sorts of men, doing all kinds of work, and woe betide the person antiquated as to question their right to their own lives, and to come and go as they please. What began in many cases as a patriotic duty is now looked upon as a right. Returned men find that their wives have developed a strong sense of independence and do not obey as meekly as before.

Industrial and other diseases mainly due to war bear heavily on the woman after the men come from the battlefields. Women will have to turn out to earn the living, and help to nurse back to health and sanity their returned heroes. The children born will in many cases be below par. Millions of marriageable girls will not be able to

find mates. Will they be content with single blessedness rather than run the risk of marrying an invalid and accepting the consequences? Millions of women have had a taste of economic freedom. Women who never enjoyed a steady income while their husbands were at home, will they be content to go back to the old system of unemployment and uncertainty?

Mothers and girls doing patriotic work, like the mothers and girls who must earn their living are out of the home and have become a problem much to big for men to attempt to regulate and time alone can tell where this freedom will lead.

Politically war has thrown woman helter skelter into politics. Politicians have played upon her emotions rather than on her intellect. No matter how she votes, she is bound to be cursed and ridiculed by the losing party. It would be unjust to judge her under these circumstances and in time of war when few can think clearly or see straight. Yesterday she voted from sentiment, or for party, to-morrow she will use her intelligence, and dearly bought experiences and vote for principles not party. Woman is naturally politically minded for this reason she will quickly develop a genius for reforms and legislation tending toward human betterment. This is but natural since at the risk of her own life and sacrifices she perpetuates the race. She will make her blunders but she will not continue long to do so. Where would the workingman be without his women folk? Could he run a home and family as his wife does on his wages? Public financing is but child's play, as compared with feeding, clothing, education and maintaining the standards of health and decency on a working man's wages in these days of exorbitant prices. The waste and corruption in public financing is appalling. If women run their homes with as little sense and as poor economy as men do the nation's business where would the nation be! After all, broadly speaking women bear, rear and keep the nation going. If the working man's wife makes such a good job of running his home (and she does) why not ask her advice and help in the larger home keeping, trades unions and politics.

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MONTREAL

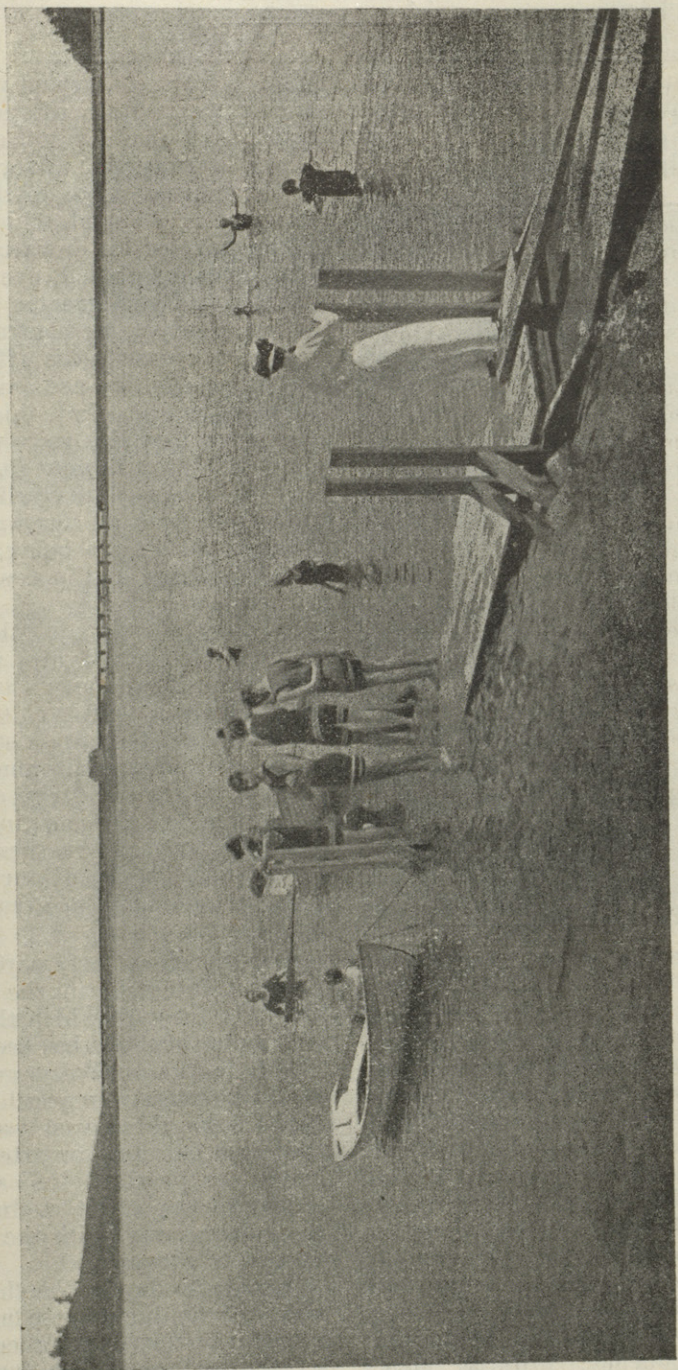
War is hitting her from all angles, she realizes the power of legislation as never before. The state can now commandeer the lives of her husband, sons and brothers and the labor of her daughters. The babe at her breast is no longer hers. The State can dictate the quality and quantity of food she shall give her family, the clothing and education of her children without asking her leave. She realizes as never before the power that rests in governments, the meaning of an order-in-council, its effect on her home, and loved ones and is determined to have her say in these important matters which vitally effect her home and happiness. She has suffered severely, and will continue to suffer long after the cannons cease to roar and drums cease to call to battle.

Labor must awaken to the places and power of women. Too long they have been used against them industrially. Labor must see to it that woman's new found weapon, the Ballot, is not likewise used to further enslave them. This is a mighty power and will be coveted by all parties. The vote of the workingmen and women are in the overwhelming majority. It depends how it is cast where Labor will stand after the war and under what conditions they and theirs shall live or if they shall live at all. There is no use telling woman home is her place. She is out of it, and like humpty-dumpty, all the kings horses and the

kings men cannot put her back again until this system is changed and home is a very different thing from what it is to-day.

Woman is the weak link in the industrial chain, the mill stone which will not allow labor to rise. When labor realizes this fact, and not until then, will labor organizations progress and attain political supremacy now that women have the vote.

Labor must open wide the industrial and political doors and invite woman to enter as an equal. She is half the human race and mother of the other half. The moral force lying dormant within her and anxious for expression is tremendous. A force which the world of men must reckon with. The War has left this force loose and is using it. In a short while it will seek new worlds to conquer. If harnessed on the side of the masses together men and women will usher in a world fit for the children of man, made in the image of God. They will rid the world of the hell which now reigns, unless woman arises in all her might and grapples intelligently with the terrific forces of destruction now at work, in times of peace, as well as in war times, there is no hope. The race will sink lower and lower in the scale of human depravity. The spiritual power of mankind, and the instinct of race protection will never allow the forces of darkness to conquer together we will build anew.

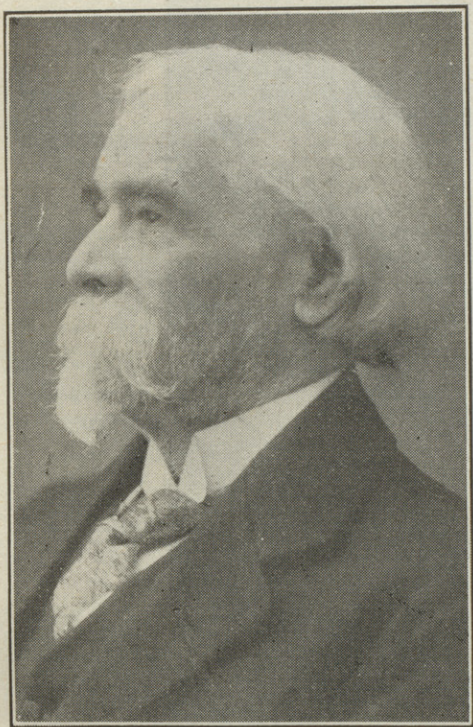


A Katie's Cove, St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, N. B.

The Genesis of Private Ownership

by JAS. A. WRIGHT

HOW wonderfully interesting are the annals of the human race, in its efforts to achieve the supreme purpose; the development of life to its highest earthly expression.



JAS. A. WRIGHT

When we consider the individual and social unfoldments, affected during the hundreds of mileniums, within which we have been painfully struggling, towards the greater light, of intellectual and spiritual development; when we contract the savage of the old stone age, with his still more remote progenitor, the man—beast, forced no doubt by pressure of necessity, to evacuate his comparatively secure and simple arborial life; compelled to step down from the trees, and begin that tremendous journey, towards man's estate, apparently barren of intellectual perception, and physical adaptabilities, to cope with the unfamiliar conditions, of his new environment; when we imagine this uncouth creat-

ure, with no equipment, save his untutored instincts, armed with but tooth and claw, no flash of reasons guiding light, to illumine his toilsome pathway, slowly struggling under the impetus of the supreme urge, of that impelling, unrelenting demand, which throughout every stage of his onward journey, has remained unsatisfied, ever insisting on greater and still greater achievements. When, I repeat, we contrast this abodeless creature, with his offspring of the old stone age, we are amazed and can scarcely credit, that this new being, this cave dweller, in whose eyes the light of reason is now fitfully shining, has achieved such marvellous progress; that from such an unpromising origin, there could arise a being, possessed of the attributes and potentialities of a human soul.

Wonderful though that progress, marvellous though his achievements, what sign of prophecy was there, indicative of his offspring of to day? When we consider, this pre-historic savage, in his merciless environment, and contrast it with the security and comforts, of modern life, the imagination is powerless to grasp the vastness of the gulf, separating us from our pre-historic past, not possibly so great in time, as in achievements.

We therefore necessarily feel, the greatest interest, in the means and methods, through which this unimaginable metamorphosis has been affected.

Within the time at our disposal, it would be utterly impossible, to deal in detail with these vast issues, we will therefore confine our attention and as briefly as possible, indicate a few of the more important evolutionary processes, concerned with the subject matter of our address.

We are to-day in the throes of a social upheaval, unprecedented in the eventful history of the race: we view in strutting contrast, the forces of a reactionary feudalism, determined to perpetuate, a social system, absolutely inimical to the progressive forces of our western democracies; completely opposed to the political and economic

ideals of the advanced Western nations. We are attacking the last strong fortress of European feudalism, but not this alone, within our own democracies, are there not remnants of that old order, strongly intrenched, and determined to maintain those individious class distinctions; the right of rule and dominion and domination; the right of the privileged few, to exploit and dominate their less fortunate, though vastly more numerous fellows.

It is our purpose, to very briefly examine, the genesis of those acquired privileges, to analyze their sources, and endeavour to determine why they exist, and their right, if any to existance.

We find in society to-day, two antagonistic schools of thought, striving for supremacy, in the domains of politics and economies. The older school of laissez-faire individualism, maintaining the inviolable right of individual determination, the right to exercise, to the fullest extent, compatible with the existence of the State, individual freedom, independent of government control or legislative restriction, the whole functions of government are confined to the maintainance of law and order and the administration of justice; full and unrestrained right of individual contract and freedom of trade, both national and international, are, at least theoreticly, recognized as supreme. Under this system, the State is to be restricted, to its least possible quality, that is to its police functions. Such in brief, are the ideals upon which the Manchester school of Economics is founded; that laissez-faire individualism, so pronounced in our politics and economies, especially in the Motherland, where, until the outbreak of the war, it constituted the dominating factor, in our political and industrial life.

In opposition to this pronounced individualism, we have the newer school of socialism, insisting on the supremacy of the State, demanding the co-ordination of the energies of the nation, through the functions of government, maintaining that the supreme interests and highest developement of the individual, can only be attained through co-operation, through the combined efforts of the individual citizens, working co-ordinatively under the control

of the State, which is constiuted the sole owner of the means of production. It is obvious, that under this system, the State is empowered by its citizens, to take supreme control, regulation and management of the national energies, with relation to both production and distribution, consequently all the methods, processes and materials, necessary to that end, is collectively owned by the people, the State is simply the agent, empowered to co-ordinate and direct the national energies. Private ownership therefore, is restricted to its least equation, although it must not be inferred that, for instance, the artisan is deprived of the full control and exercise of his skill, for his own pleasure, advantage or profit, either in the employment of the State or otherwise; in common with all possessed of manual skill, or natural endowments, their exercise is an inherent right and monopoly, of which they cannot be dispossessed, and under a co-operative commonwealth, these fortunate ones, would enjoy greater encouragement and freedom of opportunity, for the exercise and unfoldment of their gifts. The right of individual determination, is therefore untrammelled.

In view of the persistency with which political economists, maintain the right of private ownership, and more particularly, their insistence that private ownership is a necessity, the indispensable incentive to individual and social progress; that before the introduction of this essential factor, our rate of progress was slow and uncertain, consuming mileniums, to bring us through the pre-historic stage, whereas after the establishment of private ownership in the means of production, our rate of progress has been rapid and practically uniform, measurable by centuries, rather than mileniums; that our progress, from savagery to modern enlightenment, consumed less than twenty thousand years, during which the greatest achievements, in intellectual unfoldment and social growth have been effected, as against the many aeons demanded to unfold the potentialities, of our arborial progenetor.

I deny most emphatically, both their premises and deductions, they confuse causes with effects, in that they assume, that because certain results have

obtained, they are the necessary and inevitable resultants, of certain apparent causes, whereas the suppositious cause is purely the result or effect, of certain local conditions, that might just as readily have produced a different resultant, under slightly different circumstances. This mistaking effects for causes—as for example, illustrated by the so-called law of parsimony—is characteristic of the pseudo science of political economy, the dismal science, I believe, Carlyle very appropriately termed it. If we turn to book two chapter three of the *Wealth of Nations*, by the father of orthodox economics, Dr. Adam Smith, and read the dissertation on parsimony, in which, in effect, he lays it down, that parsimony is a necessary law of economics. He tells us "Parsimony, and not industry, is the immediate cause of the increase of capital; industry indeed provides the subject, which parsimony accumulates, but whatever industry might acquire, if parsimony did not save and store up, capital would never be the greater."

Herbert Spencer tells us, that a law or principle of the universe, must be in harmony with all laws, therefore of parsimony is a principle of social life, it must be of universal application, therefore it follows, that all should practice parsimony; now if every one saved then no one would spend, except for the bare essentials, consequently all social progress would cease. Under individualism however, parsimony is a necessity, otherwise they would be unable to acquire the necessary capital, for the promotion, of industrial enterprises. It does not follow however, that because parsimony is indispensable to an individualistic state, that it is a law or principle of social life, on the contrary, it establishes, that, in as much as individualism, demands the exercise of parsimony, at least with certain of its members, thus engendering undesirable inequalities in the social status of its members, it is an unsocial system, consequently detrimental to social progress.

To appreciate the significance and force of this reasoning, it will be necessary for us, to again refer, to primitive conditions, and endeavour to ascertain, if private ownership in the means of production, which of course

is the base factor of individualism, was a prime and indispensable element of social evolution? I deny most emphatically, that private ownership is either a necessity or a desirable factor, in our social unfoldments. It does not follow, that because a certain social phenomenon, or custom, or method is hoary with antiquity; that because it is and always has been, that it is a necessity, and must be perpetuated. Herein consists a glaring error in the reasoning of political economists, who maintain, that private ownership, existing since the dawn of history, is an indispensable factor, and necessary incentive, to social development; that because social growth has been more rapid since the introduction of private property, we must give private ownership, the credit for this acceleration and larger growth.

We shall presently see, if we accept their dicta, that our social growth, and consequent intellectual and spiritual unfoldments, are the product of our lower natures.

The claim that our greatest achievements, discoveries and inventions, have occurred, since the introduction of private property, and are due to such incitement, is absolutely false. The greatest achievements in the history of the race, were effected uncountable ages, before the introduction of private property, during the savage, and practically discrete period of human evolution. We have only to refer to the greatest, and grandest of human accomplishments, language, the ability to express ideas, emotions and wants, by means of symbols, or articulated words, which must have attained a development, commensurate with the culture, we have discovered, existed during pre-historic savagery; a culture which in many respects, is simply wonderful, embodying the germs and constituting the foundation of modern civilization. Every important social factor, practically all the evolutionary agencies active in contemporary life, are the growth of germs, discovered and employed, by our savage forebears. It is surprising how few factors, or agencies, have been found necessary, to our individual and social unfoldments. Our so-called material growth for example, arose out of the evolution

of language; the discovery and use of fire; the invention of tools; means of transportation; domestication of animals; the rudiments of agriculture and commerce; and the discovery and utilization of metals.

All these greatest and grandest of human achievements, were effected before the introduction of the so-believed incentive of private property, the stimulus of private ownership. Even so with our asthetic unfoldments, architecture, sculpture, painting and music, particularly sculpture and painting had achieved a remarkable development, in pre-historic times, long anterior to the introduction of private property; proof of which is to be found in the truly wonderful sculpturings and paintings found in the Dordogne France and in the caves of Spain, executed during the new stone age.

Our intellectual unfoldment, was necessarily concomitant with our material advances. Each new discovery or invention, facilitating individual and social activities, conduced to an enlargement of the environment, which reacting upon the individual, stimulated further efforts, and as all human effort is the product of ideas, of mental activity, it follows, as an inevitable concomitant, that the expansion of the environment, through material growth, arising out of the introduction and use of the various utilities just mentioned, the intellect, and its wonderful organ, the brain, would respond to the various stimuli, expressing a corresponding growth and advancement. We are therefore forced to the conclusion, that the greatest achievements in the development of the race, as already intimated, were affected during the ages of pre-historic savagery. That the acceleration in our progressive unfoldments, since the period of prehistoric savagery, expresses a more or less constant increasing momentum, is only what we should expect, from the accumulation of racial experiences, and our consequent ability, to more intelligently utilize, the opportunities afforded by our expanding environment.

With the introduction of agriculture, man secured a fixed habitation, and was therefore enabled to concentrate his efforts, and to specialize. Under the pre-existing Nomadic or pastoral stage,

his life was of the simplest character, his wants were few and easily satisfied, his environment would express but slight variation, he would simply wander from one grazing area to a similar locality, where the indispensable water and grass were abundant, consequently his relatively uniform environment and simple life, afforded little to stimulate and arouse his latent faculties, and progressive capabilities. It would therefore appear, that a greater advance, in the discovery and invention of domestic and social utilities, was affected during the fishing and hunting stages of our evolution, owing no doubt, to the greater competition and exactions, of the older environment. When however, certain sections of the race, became anchored to the soil, they would naturally select those locations, best suited to their purpose, those localities of greatest fertility, to be found along the river courses and coast lines, thus affording, not only the needed fertility of soil, but ready means of communication, for the interchange of products, introducing commerce, that great and indispensable factor, in social development.

Time will not permit of our dealing in detail, with these momentous issues, suffice it to say, that the most important factors in man's primitive development, following prehistoric savagery, were the establishment of agriculture on a permanent basis, enabling him to maintain a fixed habitation, and the interchange of products through commerce, with the consequent expansion of his environment.

We are now in a position, to briefly examine the genesis of private ownership, and to determine the nature of the forces, responsible for its introduction into social life, and the persistency with which it has been enabled to maintain, a constantly challenged supremacy. Throughout every stage of our evolution, there is no doubt, the right of individual control, has been disputed, even as it is to-day; but, owing to the necessity for leadership, which under primordial conditions, demanded that the strong of will and prowess should organize and lead the tribe, particularly in battle; the strong willed leaders, demanding the first choice and larger share, of the spoils of con-

quest. In the earliest stages, before agriculture became a permanent institution, with consequent diversity in artificial products, the captives taken in battle, were considered the most desirable spoils, and were the property of the victors, and as cannibalism is a feature of primitive life, these unfortunate creatures, as a rule, were eaten in the horrible orgies, celebrating a successful battle or foray. It must be obvious, slavery could not exist, in that the victors, were unable to provide for the captives, under such conditions. With the development of agriculture however, and consequent fixation of dwelling, the captives were enslaved and employed of course, to minister to the wants, and easier life, of their owners; thus introducing slavery into social life, which has continued down to recent times and was only abolished from Western civilization, through the advanced ethical and spiritual culture of our people.

It will be appreciated, that private ownership of land and its products, would naturally arise through the same forces, the strong willed leaders demanding special consideration, ensuring dominion over their fellows; consequently, under the instinctive powers of acquisitiveness, bred into our natures, during unfathomable ages of strife and struggle, with the seen and unseen forces, of a merciless environment, these lower instincts, would be stimulated and strengthened, constituting dominant qualities in individual character, the strength of which is measurable, by their persistency during every stage of social growth, relatively as active to-day, though modified through ethical and spiritual culture. We therefore see, that private ownership, with its inseparable adjunct, individual domination, rulership, over lordship, is the product of selfishness, is the spawn of our animal instincts, and like its co-partner slavery, is doomed to destruction through the same agencies, the unfoldment of the divine powers of our higher natures, more specifically expressed, through economic forces.

Necessarily our ethical and spiritual unfoldments, have been relatively slower than our material achievements; not only are we obliged to combat the

bestial instincts of our lower natures, those heritages born of our frightful struggles and travail during an immeasurable past, but through our social developments, those agencies have become intrenched and buttressed, by all manner of ingrained customs and habits, and expedients, partaking of the nature of social laws, none of which have been more detrimental, than the incubus of private ownership. To maintain therefore, that private ownership is a principle of economics, a law of social evolution, is barren of all justification, it arose wholly out of the exigencies of primitive life, and instead of constituting a desirable factor, an indispensable incentive to industrial activity and social growth, as maintained by orthodox economists, it has proven a deterrent, in that it has ever militated against, the unfoldment and growth, of those altruistic ideals, that spirit of comradeship and social co-operation, so indispensable to the unfolding, of our higher natures. Establishing those invidious class distinctions, it builded into the social order, and maintained all the selfishness, and grasping proclivities, and worst features of savage and barbarian leadership, which we find to-day, expressed in predatory wealth, in the overlordship of our great commercial, industrial and financial magnates, constituting a plutocracy, the natural and legitimate offspring, of the preceding feudalistic and aristocratic orders.

While it would appear, that the introduction and establishment of private ownership, was a necessity, and was seized upon by the evolutionary forces, as essential to social growth, we nevertheless can find ample justification for a belief, that had the principle of co-operation, been afforded greater latitude and freedom of expression, our spiritual and intellectual unfoldments and social growth, would have been more rapid, and the race would have been saved, much unnecessary suffering and travail. We must recognize, that it was not until primordial savagery learned to co-operate, learned to band together for mutual aid, that our social progress became possible, and that whatever militates against, or retards the principle of co-operation, in any stage of social evolution, to-day no

less than in the past, is undesirable, and as with private ownership, disastrous of the well being of the social order.

It is enigmatical to the student of sociology, why undesirable influences, so readily arised, and grip the social order. Why for instance should polygamy and polyandry, become established with certain peoples? true we can trace their genesis, and account for their development, but because they exist and have existed, from time immemorial is no proof of their necessity or desirability, particularly in view of their disastrous influence upon society. It would be just as reasonable to maintain, that because the human family, have been more or less addicted to the use of strong drink, therefore drunkenness is essential to our development; however, bearing in mind the bestial instincts of our lower natures, bred into us, and hardened by ages of conflict with an exacting environment, we are enabled to appreciate why such undesirable influences, as slavery, private ownership, polygamy and other unsocial agencies, have been enabled to successfully combat, and even submerge, the higher ethical principles.

To claim that any unsocial agency, any influence opposed to social co-ordination, is a necessary incentive to social growth, and should be perpetuated, is a contradiction in terms, and is certainly counter to the most obvious fact in the universe.

All nature exists, in harmonious co-operation, the divine unity is supreme, expressed alike in the minutest atom, and in the inexpressible grandeur of the celestial constellations. The history of Mother Earth, testifies to the uniform activity of co-operative agencies, manifest in every stage of her evolutionary unfoldment, and no where so objectively apparent, as in the development of life. The advent of organic existence, that wonderful immergence from inorganic conditions, the sublime self-creative powers of living matter, the ability to maintain in unbroken continuity, and transmit from generation to generation, the form, attributes and potentialities of sentient being. How wonderful! how marvellous! how incomprehensible the divine realities of life.

When we project the scientific imagination, away back into the gloom of that unfathomable past, and endeavour to cognize the first crude efforts of organic existence; when we think of those formless masses of creeping protoplasm, but faintly differentiated from the inorganic ooze, of the primordial seas, it is difficult to credit, that the marvellous powers of the human intellect, the man divine was potential in those unorganized masses. Here we are at the genesis of life, here we may see that discrete speck of organic being, the Monad.

Accepting for the purposes of illustration, the amoeba, as the unit of animal creation; that microscopic speck of animation, whose protean activities, may be observed through the microscope, in a drop of water from any stagnant pool, we are furnished with the lower forms of discrete animal life, and learn that these minute beings—or their prototypes—barren of all external organs, mere pellucid sacks, through some inexplicable urge, through some incarnate force or sensibility, acquired the power of coalescence and organic combination of their activities, through which a more satisfactory state of being, a more certain life is secured. In this higher form of animal creation, this binding together in an indissoluble organic unity, of these discrete cells, we are permitted to observe, the first great step in organic unity, through the development of which have arisen all the wonders and immensity, of multiplex animal forces; even the man divine, Prof. Haeckel informs us, in his last words on Evolution, is but an aggregation of the unicellular infusoria. We therefore see, that it was only through co-operation, through organic co-ordination, of the activities of these discrete cells, that the higher forms of life became possible; and if we pursue our investigations, we will discover, that this great principle of co-operation, is not only indispensable to the evolution of sentient being, in relation to anatomical structure in bone, muscle and nerve, but in the activities of external relations, particularly of the higher forms, it constitutes the indispensable factor in social evolution. We learn, that the progressive development of life, is de-

pendent upon socialization. Those animals employing co-operative methods, banding together in mutual aid, have been the most successful, in that terrific struggle for existence, so manifest in every stage of being; that in co-ordinating their energies, they are more efficiently equipped to meet this crash and surge, this bitter conflict, imposed by unrelenting nature.

As we advance in the scale of being, we are impressed by the importance of co-operation, as a factor in evolution, whose force and adequacy is constantly enlarging; we are therefore obliged to recognize, that, of all the forces employed in the evolution of external relations, even as with anatomical structures, co-operation is the most important, the indispensable factor.

In insect life, particularly with the ants, we find this principle yielding most astounding results, evolving socialized groups, of incomparable perfection. We learn that many of the important problems, which with mankind are still in the embryonic stage, definitely solved, and a stability and equilibrium established, in comparison with which, our blundering efforts are of the crudest character. We observe that such important problems as housing, social hygiene, food, regulation of population with regard to sustenance, the maintenance of law and order, established upon a scientific basis; all of which were effected, and could only have been achieved, through the growth of social co-ordination. It would appear, as though nature had been experimenting with these minute intelligent beings, modeling as it were, trying out on this reduced scale, the great problems of social existence, before attempting their application, to the higher forms of life. We cannot but regret, that our own development, has not been pursued as intelligently, and along equally safe lines; switched as we were, off the line of co-operative development, that instead of following up, the early efforts of our savage forebears, those co-ordinative methods, the spirit and practice of mutual aid and comradeship, there was introduced through leadership, all the selfish proclivities of acquisitiveness, manifesting its worst forms through slavery, private ownership, and degradation of womanhood. We do not find the

social development of the ants or bees, in any degree dependent, upon the much advertised but altogether erroneous conception, of the incentive of private ownership.

If the time at our disposal permitted, we would have no difficulty in establishing, that all the great factors, essential to individual and social growth have been retarded, rather than facilitated, through private ownership.

In our commercial and industrial relations, such important utilities as transportation and currency for example, are essentially social forces, therefore their monopolization through private enterprise, can only be characterized as disastrous to social well-being.

Every advance in individual and social growth, are the result of necessary stimuli; a demand must first exist, a necessity for a new departure, or an improvement, in existing methods or processes, of sufficient force and persistency, to stimulate and create an adequate mental response. Under *laissez faire* individualism, under existing capitalistic methods, a stimulus is always in evidence, expressed through the unsatiable demand for gain, for greater individual wealth, for personal aggrandizement; but unfortunately the deciding factor in any new effort, is, will the new departure, or improved process, or method, or scientific discovery, or mechanical invention *PAY*? will it yield increased profits? All other considerations are submerged, in this overwhelming demand for individual wealth. As a matter of fact, we know that important inventions, have been ignored, or are securely locked in the safes of industrial establishments, because they necessitate the scrapping of existing plant, or their prospective earning powers, may not justify, risking the necessary capital, for their exploitation. There is no consideration accorded such important matters, as the advantages of those inventions or what not, to the social order, or the well being of the operatives; they may be of vital concern to the lives and health of the industrial workers, but unless they contribute to the unsatiable maw, of the modern Moloch, to the plethoric moneybags of predatory wealth, such vital, such paramount considerations are ignored. We have only to refer, to the ghastly history of the

Factory Acts, and remember the horrible conditions, imposed upon the wage earning slaves, and the years of agitation required to create a public opinion, sufficient potent, to secure the necessary legislation, for their abatement. Think of the thousands of lives yearly sacrificed, to the Moloch of predatory wealth, by the privately owned railways of America, and as with the Factory Acts, particularly in England, it was not until Labor was organized and sufficiently strengthened, to make its influence felt, in the various legislatures, that mitigation of these uncivilized conditions, became possible.

Under individualism, the well being of society is a secondary matter, the all important concern is *profits, gain*, consequently we should not be surprised, that such important, such indispensable utilities, as currency, fuel, transportation, the telegraph, the telephone, etc., under private capital, consider the public weal, only in so far as it can be exploited, to the benefit of the shareholders.

We are constantly reminded by the opponents of socialism, that public ownership, has proven a complete failure; when as a matter of fact, we have enjoyed government control, only to a limited extent, hampered and restricted by the thoroughly organized force of capitalism, presently in supreme control of our legislatures; but in so far as government control has been availed, off it has demonstrated, an unmistakable social superiority over private ownership, as exemplified by the post office, and certain municipal utilities, particularly the water works. We have only to refer to the disastrous history, of the privately owned railways of the United States: at the outbreak of the war, there were forty-two thousand, nearly fifty thousand miles, in the hands of receivers — **BANKRUPT** — one-sixth of the entire mileage of the railways of the United States, that stronghold of capitalism, operated by the courts. With whom rests the responsibility? Who is accountable for this rotten condition? for the wrecking of such magnificent properties as the New Haven, the Chicago Great Western, the Rock Island, the Alton, the Missouri Pacific, the Frisco, to mention a few of the bankrupts? With whom rests the respon-

sibility? Certainly not with the management, with the operating forces; there are no more efficiently managed industrial institutions in the world, than the American railways. The subsidized press, the great journals, to whom the people look for light and leading, in **THEIR** camouflaging efforts, falsely accused, the Inter-state Commerce Commission, because they would not provide increased rates, to meet the speculations of the supreme heads: the financial manipulators, the Wall Street pirates, who would wreck the Kingdom of Heaven, if the opportunity afforded, to thus "turn an honest penny."

In face of such damnable facts, they have the colossal effrontery to cite against us that political sink-hole, the Intercolonial. Nevertheless in the last analysis, that railway affords indubitable evidence, of the advantage of national co-ordination, in that capitalists, refused to build the line, because it would not immediately yield profits. The government of that day, brushing aside such inconsequential considerations, thinking only of the well being of the nation, of the building up of this great Dominion, inaugurated and completed the enterprise. We can only deplore, that our governments have not continued along these rational and socially beneficent lines; constructing our railways in the interest of the nation, and not for the aggrandizement of Predatory Plutocrats; herein affording, through contrast, an example of the principles, of these paramount industrial forces; the one individual, un-social and selfish, the other social and beneficent.

In face of the indubitable facts we have been examining, can we come to any other conclusion, than that private ownership, the base factor of individualism, the principle element of our *laissez faire* economics, has ever constituted, a retarding influence, a malignant ulcer in the body social.

REMEMBER

The next Fifth Sunday Meeting will be held on Sunday, September 29th, 1918, at 7.30 P.M., at Stanley Hall, Montreal.

Be sure to attend.

The Forum Movement in Canada

IN tracing the beginning of this marvelously successful, democratic venture one may revert much farther back in history than to the days of the far famed Roman Forum, even to the earliest indications, and expressions of the spirit of altruism.

The name "Forum", however, now becoming so familiar, and popular was undoubtedly, formulated in Rome. The Forums there, were market places where courts of Justice were held. Public banquets for the populace as well as the combats of the gladiators were in the time of the Republic held in the Great Forum. There were platforms from which orations were frequently delivered.

After the time of the Caesars, this particular form of civic activity lost its importance. But as I have just indicated, the custom of agitating subjects beneficial in establishing a greater common good has persisted. Long before the Christian era, Solon was supreme ruler of Athens, and by consent of all parties, the arbiter of their differences. History tells us, and it sounds modern enough to be a twentieth century record, that the grievous exactions of the ruling orders has already reduced the laboring classes to poverty, and abject dependence. It is evident that all down the ages democratic sentiments have ever encountered more dominant views on the side of the artificialities of life; even the modern more liberal interpretation of Christianity, has not fully covered such words of Jesus, as "Out of the heart are the issues of life". These significant words and others from the same source, are not sufficiently grasped to have their due influence, even today. As Victor Hugo suggests: "Reason is only reason, feeling is often conscience — the one comes from the man himself; the other from a higher source."

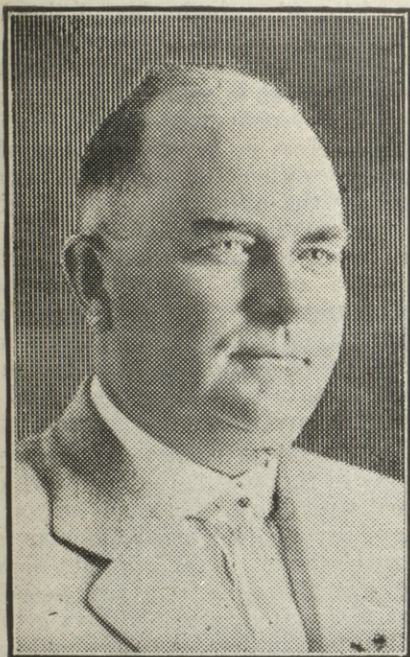
Faneuil Hall, Boston, was named the cradle of fraternity. Surely these words are indicative of the true Forum atmosphere. The first institution of this kind on the continent, was made possible through the insight and gen-

erosity of a man of English heritage—Daniel Sharp Ford. He was born in Cambridge, Mass; his father was a native of Coventry, England; came to Boston in the year 1800, where he at once became an influence for good by reason of his unusual gifts as a public speaker and his interest in the poor and unfortunate. It is said that Mr. Daniel Ford's will indicates that it was his intention that all classes and conditions of men without regard to race or color, or creed, should in some way profit by his benefactions. The Ford Hall Forum, Boston, has been in existence seven years. The speakers and fine lecture courses have attracted wide spread attention. A number of churches in the United States have established Forums, in place of the afternoon or evening service. Indeed, if one is a propagandist now-days one may use Forum methods in almost any kind of a meeting, even in a class room. The fact that the movement is apparently on the right track, has rendered the enthusiasm contagious. Canada to some extent is under the spell. Winnipeg was first to catch the idea.

During three seasons past beginning as early as September, there has been a well organized Forum in Ottawa and Montreal; the latter is known as the People's Forum. There is talk of starting others hereabouts. Among the outstanding facts of collateral achievements, as part of the result of this great and terrible war, none is more important than the rise of democracy; if it has been made difficult in the years back of us, it will become less and less so, as we progress towards a new world. It is said that our veteran soldiers, in contact with their comrades in England and the United States have made rapid progress towards this new social order where the interests which the central Government should protect and promote will be according to the democratic formula, the interests of the greater number and not preferably the privileged classes. I am not referring to anything so local, as for instance the recent discussion over the question of abolishing hereditary titles in Canada, but naturally to the

broader application of the liberal spirit everywhere.

Most of the forces that are making for a commonwealth of justice in the world, are working largely through



Mr. W. D. ROBB,

Vice-President in charge of Motive Power, Car Equipment and Machinery, Grand Trunk Railway System, entered the service of the Grand Trunk as an apprentice machinist in 1871, and has steadily risen from the ranks.

mass movements outside the church. As far as the Forum falls into the latter category, and of course it does to quite an extent, it attracts those interested in such ideals—always a cosmopolitan group. A young Russian Jewess was heard to say that she looked for the meetings the way she looked for the stars at night, and that she never had understood what America meant until she attended a Forum; another remarked that nothing had shown the Christian religion in a better light than these meetings. Mark Twain claimed to think the civilization of the Boers more genuine than that of England, or America, because of their innate kindness, hospitality, honesty; the so-called advanced civilizations, he considered full of vanities, cruelties, arrogances, meannesses. However much we

individually endorse this opinion of the great philosopher and humorist, we do, many of us, in spirit at least, welcome modern democratic movements, and none more so than The People's Forum. The lectures while not religious in the ordinary sense of the term, the speakers have often implied or expressed, the new and wonderful way God is coming into life. We are indeed gradually learning to become our brothers' keeper. It is not easy to put down in black and white the spirit and purpose of any institution, unless one can see it almost by intuition, one is more than likely to miss it altogether. The visible satisfaction in the meetings is due not a little I am sure, to the eager interest in the question period—that intellectual battledore and shuttlecock practice following each address. Another period very much enjoyed is the one just previous to the lecture when an entertainment, usually music, is provided. The subjects discussed at the meetings this year at the Montreal Forum, the one with which I am most familiar, have been as well as I can recall them,



Mr. W. R. DAVIDSON.

Mr. Davidson who has recently taken up his duties as General Superintendent Eastern Lines, Grand Trunk Railway System, with headquarters in Montreal, succeeding Mr. C. G. Bowker, transferred to Ontario Lines as General Superintendent.

upon Democracy; The Single Tax, The War Immigration, Education, The Mentally Deficient. Evolution, the Race and Language problem in this Province, and last but not least, a lecture on coal and other more specific economic questions. One wonders whether a discussion of some phase of economic was not a feature of the Roman Forums. In Shakespeare's "Coriolanus"—Act 1st, scene 1st—placed in the time of the Roman Republic, we find these words: "They said they said they were hungry; sighed forth proverbs,

That hunger broke stone walls; that dogs must eat;

That meat was made for mouths, that the gods sent not corn for the rich men only."

The following quotation from the same play indicates the changes that do come, in successive phases of civilization. Custom calls me to it; What custom wills, in all things should we do it. The dust of antique time would lay unswept, and mountaneous error too highly heapt.

Forum people are sometimes called dreamers of fantastic dreams. The following appeared in one of our Canadian publications not long ago:

"Thus is the whole thought of these earnest and intelligent searchers after truth permeated with the delusion that human nature is or can be made on short notice something entirely other than it is — something no longer actuated by greed, selfishness, laziness, etc. — something no longer in need of dis-

cipline. It is a dangerous delusion and threatens to overthrow all the fabric of our modern civilization. This critic adds: "The cement of love among the workers which these people rely upon to hold the new fabric together will not withstaid a single day of the wind and rain of practical experience".

Such an attitude of mind as these words express is common enough; in fact its frequent reiteration has the desired effect as is intended, on those who are either incapable of understanding the situation, or have given no time to the study of it. I am not writing on Socialism, and will not attempt to answer the delusive statements referred to. The author no doubt had in mind a sprinkling of people in most Forum audiences, who are interested in this particular phase of the Industrial and Economic movement.

I have endeavoured to indicate previously in this paper, that the work connected with Forums is not based on the idea of propagating any particular form of truth; the ideals are general. To hear a subject discussed from various points of view, is often, if not always helpful. The captain understand the shoals, and guides the ship safely and cheerfully on. In the broad sense, Forums, are educational and inspirational; not propagandist institutions. No resolutions are passed, and no definite stand taken on any subject by the Forum constituency as a body.

Our Forum motto is:

"Let there be Light."

Lillian Saxe Holmes

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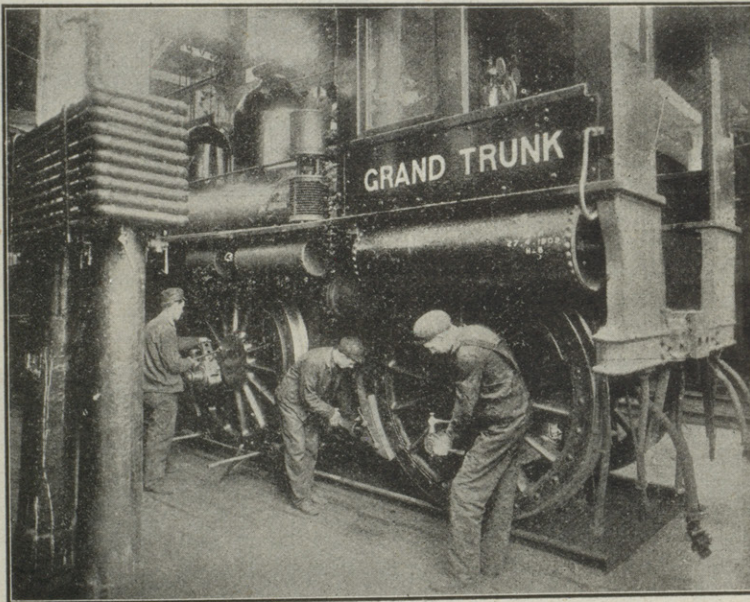
St. Catherine and Metcalfe Streets
MONTREAL

The Grand Trunk's Apprenticeship System

APPRENTICESHIP systems in the engineering trade, which are now so well developed and in use by many large manufacturing firms and railroads are the results of a gradual evolution since the time of James Watt. In the early days of the steam engine, slow progress was made for a time, due principally to the lack of men trained to the different branches of the more exacting work. Blacksmiths and carpenters were the chief craftsmen of that period. To

when necessary, a selection is made from these to fill the positions of foremen and staff officers. These can be relied upon to go ahead and carry out efficiently and successfully their various duties of productive work by reason of their original training and experience in the classroom, and in the shop.

It may not be generally known that the Motive Power Department of the Grand Trunk Railway System has been a pioneer in the modern development of

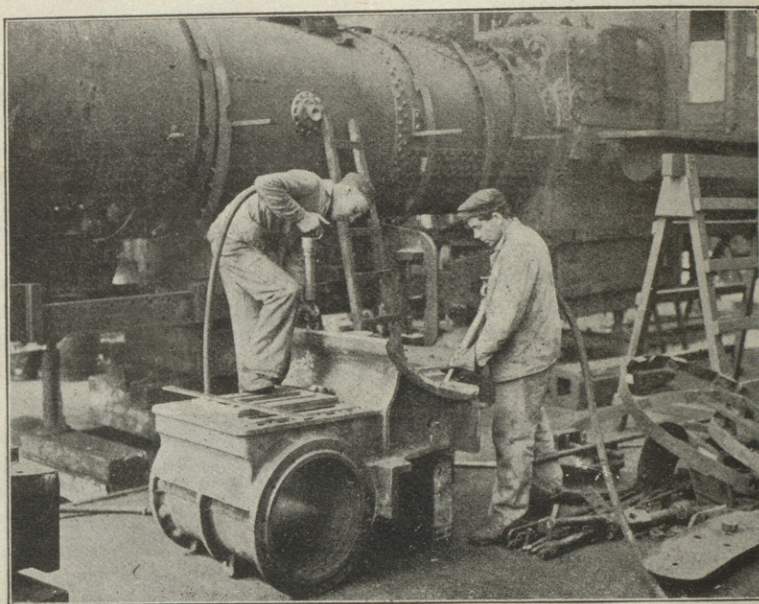


Grand Trunk machinist's apprentice, Erecting Shop—Montreal.

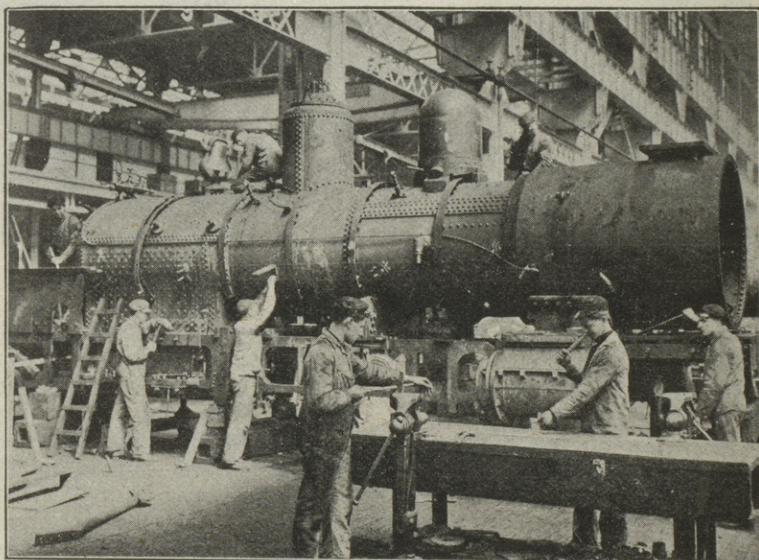
the two trades above mentioned there were gradually added boilermakers, machinists, patternmakers, tinsmiths, copersmiths, moulders and others. As the sphere of the steam engine expanded, and its use for Stationary, Marine and Locomotive purposes developed, each of the above trades required a different training for its own particular branch, and gradually specialists were developed.

The principal object in any apprenticeship system should be the training of the young mind as a basis from which any of the above branches of engineering may, if necessary, be followed later. Such a system provides a supply of well-trained mechanics in the first place, and,

apprenticeship systems, which are now part of the educational features of all large railroads in North America. From a small beginning, about 16 years ago, in a few of the main shops, the system now in use has spread out to include instruction by a capable instructor at every shop and roundhouse where three or more apprentices are employed. There are a few places where less than that number are employed but arrangements are such that these can be reached by correspondence lessons and periodical visits by a teacher, so that no apprentice working for the Grand Trunk Railway in the Motive Power Department is without the opportunity of improving him-



Grand Trunk apprentices fitting new cylinder and half saddle to Locomotive—Stratford Shops.



Grand Trunk Apprentices working on a rebuilt engine in charge of one who has just completed his apprenticeship—Stratford Shops.

self along lines best suited to his advancement.

The wide range of work conducted in the Motive Power Department makes it possible for the company to offer regular courses of apprenticeship in the following variety of trades: machinists, boiler-makers, patternmakers, tinsmiths, coppersmiths, moulders, blacksmiths, pipe-fitters and electricians. All of these are available at the three main shops, located at Montreal, Que., Stratford, Ont., and Battle Creek, Mich. The majority are available also at the shops at Ottawa, Ont., and Deering, Me. Machinists' apprentices are employed at all round-houses, and their training is specialized on running repairs to locomotives. This line of work covers a great field, and affords the roundhouse apprentice a large variety of work and opportunity for study. A part of their time is given to machine shop practice.

Increases in the rate of pay are made regularly each year. The apprentice is required to try an examination each year, which will show the Master Mechanic and the Superintendent of Motive Power that he has been diligent in his studies, and that he has applied himself to his work. At each of the main shops there is an apprentice instructor, whose duty it is to supervise the education of the boys individually and to show by demonstration how machines should be run.

Each week every apprentice must attend class studies in mechanical drawing, mathematics, mechanics, sketching, blueprint reading, and points concerning machinery, locomotive parts and shop operations. Such portions of these subjects are taught as are needful for the particular education of the apprentice. These classes are under a capable instructor who also sees that every boy has regular shifts, so that he will be given an all-round education, and not simply learn how to work one machine or perform one operation. Later on, after his apprenticeship period is completed, he can specialise in one department if he desires.

An apprentice having satisfactorily completed his four years in the shop as a machinist, blacksmith, pipefitter, patternmaker, electrician, or boilermaker, receives a bonus from the Company. Roundhouse apprentices, who also serve four years, receive a bonus from the company upon satisfactory completion of their term. While no restriction is placed upon an apprentice to continue in the service of the company after the completion of apprenticeship, nevertheless, the management prefers that all apprentices who have served their time remain with them, and appreciate their continued service.

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MONTREAL, Canada

Mr. W. SINGLETON

C.P.R. Locomotive Engineer

WHENEVER your occupation will permit you to take a stroll down to the C.P.R. Place Viger Station, look around to ascertain if you can see an engine bearing the number 555. Alongside of her, tightening a bolt, fixing a brake shoe, filling cups with oil, you will meet a husky and vigorous little chap, with a bright smile on his face.

If you ask him any question pertaining to the time of his train at any station, very courteously he will give you the right answer. If you venture to a more intimate path, questioning him on him on his engine, then you will receive this answer: Sir, my D6 is the best on the pike and I make sure that she is kept in first-class shape.

He is always on the spot two or three hours before departure to see that all the works on his old friend are in perfect order. At the end of his run, no matter how the trip was, he inspects his machine and works three and four hours turning and tightening up.

His record on the books of our company is immaculate. Never in the ten or twelve years that I have been working behind him did I ever hear a complaint of bad braking or inefficiency in handling his train. He is the real type of a locomotive engineer.

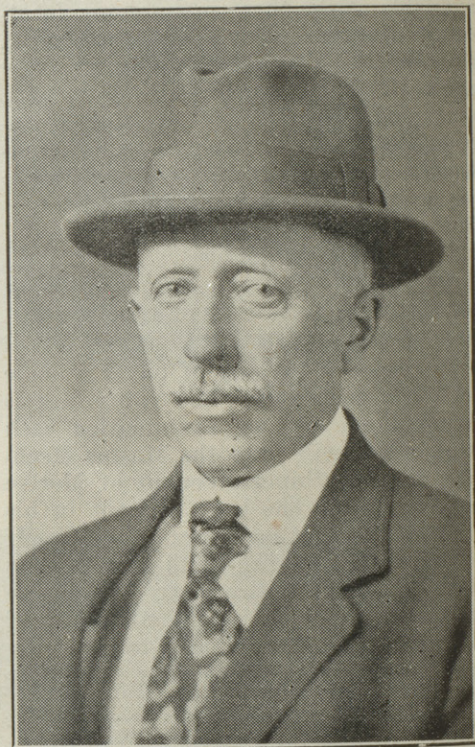
His best love goes to his good wife and two sons; but next to it nothing can replace his old 555.

The Canadian Pacific Railway in recognition of his good record and skillful handling of passenger trains, graced his engine with a shield on which his name is inscribed. This is to show to the travelling public that the men who are entitled to these crests are chosen among the best and the safest, though sometimes not the oldest in years of service, and before it is given, records of engineers are scrutinized and the Canadian Pacific Railway is too well known in this regard to-day to need any *commentaires* as to thoroughness in such researches.

When the hunting season approaches, you can see Bill preparing his camping outfit and regulating the sights of his rifle. I was forgetting to tell you that he

is without any doubt one of the best shots that ever walked the Laurentians.

He never goes in the woods without bringing back numerous victims. Tro-



W. SINGLETON

phies of all descriptions can be seen at his home. Moose heads, caribous, deers and birds of all kinds. He is a member of George V Hunting and Fishing Club. There is no part of the woods from the Lake Superior to the Northern part of the Laurentians that he does not know.

He is also a great mutualist, a member of the I. O. O. F., and different other societies; he is also a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Division No. 258.

In private life, Mr. Singleton is a perfect gentleman of agreeable manners. He takes a great interest in all the doings of our federal government. He is very patriotic and without his permis-

sion I will divulge a little secret for which I am assured his good heart will forgive me.

In the last Victory Loan, Bill gave pretty near all his savings which he had earned through hard labor, and the economy of his good companion of life, Mrs. Singleton. The sum amounted to \$5,000.00. This was to show his patriotism. He also induced many of his co-workers to follow his example. It is certainly a great pleasure for me as a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to write these few notes about our old friend and I wish that it would be of some help to cement the brotherly love that exist between the two *sister railroad organizations*.

J. E. CARRIERE,

*Director Fifth Sunday Meeting
Association.*

Treasurer B. of R. T. 490.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

(From "The Herald.")

To the Editor of The Herald:

Sir,—A great deal has been said in the discussion of compulsory education about the census or, rather, the fact that there is no census of children taken in Montreal. I have before me a letter from the education department of the London County Council a few quotations from which may be of interest in this connection.

"In the year 1870 an Education Act was passed by the British Government and since that date it has been obligatory upon parents to send their children to school regularly. School boards were set up by this act and were given the power to make and administer by-laws regulating the attendance of children at school. These boards were abolished in 1902 and their duties handed over to the County Councils. For the purposes of school attendance, London is divided into twelve divisions, subdivided into districts, each containing about 3,000 children of the elementary school class. An attendance officer is placed in charge of each of these districts. He is responsible for dealing with all children who are not attending school or who are irregular in their attendance. Early in the year

the attendance for each district is required to take a census of all children of the elementary school class living within his district. . . . The record of each family is entered in a schedule book. This census is not made compulsory by law, but has been in operation for many years in London. And experience has shown that by its means it is made almost impossible for any child of school age to evade school attendance."

The last point is worth noting, and has a direct bearing upon our position. The census is taken in London solely as a means to an end, that end being the enforcement of the school attendance law. Without a school attendance law it is difficult to see just what could be gained, from the educational standing point, by a census, beyond the satisfaction of having exact statistics instead of general figures compiled from various sources. But surely such conclusive evidence as has been given in recent letters to the press cannot leave much doubt as to the real state of affairs.

One more quotation from the letter mentioned above will show that in England also the co-relation and inter-dependence of school attendance and child labor laws are recognized.

"In addition to the ordinary district officers there are two other classes of officers employed in each division: (a) Industrial school officers, and (b) special officers. . . . Of the latter one is employed in dealing with cases under the Employment of Children Act, and By-laws."

Elizabeth A. Irwin.

The Girl's High School.
Montreal, April 11, 1918.

REMEMBER

The next Fifth Sunday Meeting will be held on Sunday, September 29th, 1918, at 7.30 P.M., at Stanley Hall, Montreal.

Be sure to attend.

An Educational Plan for the Workers

An address delivered by Mr. Geo. Pierce, before the Social Workers' Federation in Montreal

BY WAY of preface I might say that we cherish the opportunity of presenting to you our views on the question of education as relating to the Canadian workers. The need for educational reform is felt by all advanced thinkers within our ranks from coast to coast. We feel, with deep conviction, that we need the co-operation and the assistance of professional educators, who may carefully analyze the situation as it is, and offer suggestions and formulate plans founded upon years of experience in the process of applying education to the masses of the people who have had the most limited opportunities for absorbing even such education as is offered by the communities in which they are reared.

And here I might digress long enough to state that we consider the salaries paid to teachers so scandalously inadequate to their needs and so ridiculously disproportionate to the position, intellectual and social, which we consider they should occupy in the community, that we are prepared to assist in promoting an organization of educators which will insure to them a comfortable standard of living. We are aware of the fact that a man or woman cannot work to capacity in industrial establishments, where the work to be performed would be characterized as routine work, on an empty stomach and we are fully alive to the fact that a teacher cannot give the full use of his faculties to the education of our children unless he is well fed and his mind is freed from financial anxieties. We will co-ordinate with any movement that will place the teacher, whom we consider to be the keystone of the entire social structure; we will co-operate with any movement that will enhance his position in the community socially and financially.

In other words, we would like nothing better than to see an effort at organization made among the teachers behind which we might come with our full power and strength and awaken the community to the greatest reform of

our time. We demand pay and good pay for the work we do in following our vocational pursuits and we wish to have our children educated by men and women who are properly paid for the services they render.

To revert back to my subject, I may say that in Canada we appear to be behind the European organizations with relation to the question of education. In England you have what is known as the Workman's Educational Association. Prof. Dale was kind enough at one of our recent meetings to give us a brief history of the work accomplished in England by this association. Since that time, we have been investigating the operations of this organization with a view of applying, wherever practical, the general plans of that organization in the formulation of our own policies. In Canada, so far as I know, we have nothing that remotely approaches the English organization but we have begun what promises to become in the not-distant future, a powerful educational influence, operating and enlisting the earnest co-operation of more than eighty thousand Railroadmen in this Dominion.

The Canadian Association is known as the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada, the membership of which up to the present is confined to Railroad Workers. This organization had its inception at Montreal, October 29, 1916 and is rapidly spreading across the Dominion. Its success has been so phenomenal that even its optimistic organizers have been astonished by the progress made.

Like all undertakings of this character the usual obstacles were immediately encountered. It first became necessary to create a demand among the different railroad groups for such an association and that implied considerable propaganda work. The need for such an organization had to be shown and the good that might result had to be proven to be more than a possibility. Eventually the Railroad workers were prevailed upon to attend one of the mass meetings

where the objects and aims and ambitions of the men associated might be debated. After successive meetings of this character the idea began to spread and to take hold. Representatives who sit permanently on a board of Directors under a permanent chairman, constitute the executive force in the new organization.

The question now arose as to how the financing was to be accomplished. There were no available funds for this purpose. To begin with the interested organizers went down into their own pockets and furnished the necessary money for literature, hall rent, etc. It soon became apparent that if the work of the Association was to be extended so as to become national in its scope, and it was seen at once that unless it were made national it would be of little or no value, comprehensive financial plans had to be discussed and developed to furnish the capital necessary for the success of the undertaking. The consideration of this particular phase was responsible for the inauguration of the Canadian Railroader. It was considered possible that a magazine might be established which would furnish sufficient net revenue to provide all the expenses necessary for the propagation of the Fifth Sunday Meeting movement. In addition to fulfilling our expectations on this score the publication of the magazine gave virility and weight to the Association itself because through its medium we could reach all Railroadmen whether they were able to attend the meetings or not.

A word will suffice to explain why it is called the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association.

In such months where there was a fifth Sunday, no lodges or divisions used that day as a meeting day and from this fact sprang the idea of using that day which was the only available one when members of all groups would be free to attend a general meeting. When once the association had been finally established in Montreal, the idea developed of encouraging the establishment of similar associations in all other railroad centres by furnishing from the central or Montreal association all the essential literature, dodgers, hall rents necessary and also to send an organizer to such localities where the magazine had

succeeded in arousing interest in the establishment of such meetings. Gradually we are covering the entire Dominion in this manner and our magazine, the Canadian Railroader has been able to provide the funds whenever called upon. Up to this point we have been able to form an active association of men who are determined to get somewhere and do useful things along educational and political lines.

The next step was to determine just what sort of educational propaganda we would unite in furthering. Up to this time we had contented ourselves with inviting prominent members of the organizations to address the meetings while the magazine has launched out upon broader lines. Recently it was decided to invite prominent educators, professional men and the heads of great business institutions to give their views on subjects of their own choosing.

This was of course a startling departure from the odd methods of confining the time of all meetings strictly to the consideration of Trades unions affairs.

Prof. Dale was the first educator invited to address one of these meetings. And I wish to state at this time, the effect of it has been electrifying. Only the most serious and thoughtful of our men attended that meeting, but Prof. Dale's lecture on Education sank deep into their hearts. During the weeks following that general meeting these men went about among the men telling them what they had missed and reiterating the substantial facts as brought out by the lecturer. The oldest and most influential members arranged special committees who made appointments at our homes and at the office where suggestions were made and plans devised to carry forward the work. We feel ourselves eternally indebted to Prof. Dale and when next he addresses us, if we are able to presume upon his kindness for a reappearance, we shall guarantee an overflow meeting, such has not been seen in Montreal for some time.

As for those who are largely directing the affairs of the association we sent to Ottawa and secured the full and complete Reports of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education and we have been ploughing down through those volumes with an energy and fervor that would do honor

to the most studious scholastic. Now that we had firmly established the system of the Fifth Sunday meetings, and a magazine that was making enough money to finance these meetings comfortably, it has remained to formulate some plan of educational propaganda most suited to our peculiar form of organization and to the character of the magazine which we had established. This involved a careful study of the whole question of education in all countries with the idea and intent of applying the European ideas to the Canadian conditions. We are beginning our propaganda by stimulating an increase of interest in education. In our magazine we shall point out the developments of the continuation classes, the technical schools, the evening vocational classes in the Old Country and show just what they have accomplished for the working people, discussing the subjects in something like the following order.

1st. Elementary education in relation to Industrial training and Technical Education.

2nd. Secondary and higher education in relation to Industrial training and technical education.

3rd. Manual training, nature study, school gardening, household science, vocational education, industrial training and technical education.

4th. Industrial training and technical education in relation to national problems.

5th. Industrial training and technical education in relation to needs, duties and rights of individuals.

6th. Organization and administration of Industrial training for Canada.

7th. A Dominion development policy for those who are able to continue at school at urban communities, for those who have gone to work in other rural communities.

8th. Industrial training and technical education in relation to apprentices.

9th. Education for rural communities.

10th. Schools for occupation.

11th. Industrial research.

12th. Vocational guidance.

13th. A wider use of the school plant.

14th. Attendance at continuation classes after fourteen.

When the question of educational reform has been thoroughly presented to our membership we shall study the question of agitating politically to bring about the changes desired and we shall probably formulate what we consider to be a workable plan along the lines of establishing local and provincial development bodies, subject to Provincial government laws as follows:

1st. Local urban industrial development boards.

2nd. Local rural development boards.

3rd. Provincial development councils.

4th. Provincial development commissions.

5th. Dominion development conferences.

6th. Dominion development commission.

7th. Dominion development fund.

1.—Local Urban Industrial Development Boards.

Duties:

1. To consider by what means Industrial training and Technical Education may be applied most advantageously to the development and improvement of workers, industries and occupations within the areas served by them severally.

2. To make proposals, applications or recommendations to a Provincial Development Council or any other authority constituted by the Provincial Government as competent to deal with such proposals.

3. To provide and maintain Industrial Training and Technical Education by means of institutions, classes, courses or otherwise subject to the regulations of the Government of the Province.

4. To provide Vocational Guidance for the youth of the area by such means as they may think fit.

5. To administer any Grants received for any of the aforesaid objects.

Constitution.

Each Board to be appointed preferably by the local education or municipal Authority; or if not wholly so appointed, then to the extent of two-thirds by the local Authority or Authorities, with one-third appointed by the Provincial Authority for Industrial Training and Technical Education.

Each Board to include one or more members of the Local Education Authority and to represent:—

(1) Employers and employees in manufacturing industries, trades, commerce, mining, fisheries and transportation;

(2) Housekeeping;

(3) Education.

Having regard to the desirability of continuity of policy, appointments to be made preferably for a term of years, a proportion of the members retiring every year and being eligible for re-appointment.

It would likely be found expedient for each Board to constitute Committees for the more effective carrying on of its work. The main divisions would obviously be industrial, housekeeping and vocational guidance with such further division or sub-divisions as might be thought desirable.

II.—Local Rural Development Boards:

Duties:

1. To consider by what means Industrial Training and Technical Education may be applied most advantageously to the development and improvement of workers of agriculture, rural industries, housekeeping and occupations in rural communities within the county or other area served by them severally.

2. To make proposals, applications or recommendations to the Provincial Development Council or any other authority constituted by the Provincial Government as competent to deal with such proposals.

3. To provide and maintain Industrial Training and Technical Education by means of institutions, classes, courses and otherwise, subject to the regulations of the Government of the Province.

4. To administer any grants received for any of the aforesaid objects.

Suggestions.

It would appear to be desirable, where local conditions permit, that a county area should be the area served by the Local Rural Development Board. In some cases it might be found expedient to combine one county with another, or with part of one or more other counties.

Each Board to be appointed, preferably two-thirds by the education author-

ities or the municipal councils of the area served, with one-third appointed by the Provincial Authority for Industrial Training and Technical Education.

Each Board to represent:—

(1) Agriculture;

(2) Industries;

(3) Housekeeping;

(4) Education.

Having regard to the desirability of continuity of policy, appointment to be made for a term of years, a proportion of the members retiring every year and being eligible for re-appointment.

It would likely be found expedient for each Board to constitute Committees for the more effective carrying on of its work. The main divisions would obviously be agricultural, rural industries and housekeeping, with such further divisions or sub-divisions as might be thought desirable.

III.—Provincial Development Councils

Duties:

1. To consider systems and schemes of Industrial Training and Technical Education for the development and improvement of workers, industries, agriculture, housekeeping and occupations within the Province.

2. To make recommendations to the Provincial Development Commission or to the Government of the Province in that connection.

3. To do such things as may be required by the Government of the Province in relation to Industrial Training and Technical Education.

4. To make recommendations to the Dominion Development Commission.

Constitution.

Two-thirds of the members might be elected by local development boards, and one-third appointed by the Provincial Government to represent:—

(1) Manufacturing industries, trades, commerce, mining, fisheries, and transportation (employers and employees);

(2) Agriculture and forestry;

(3) Housekeeping;

(4) Education;

or

Members might be appointed by the Provincial Government to represent interests as aforesaid.

Appointments or elections to be preferably for a term of not less than six years a proportion of the members retiring every two years and being eligible for re-appointment or re-election.

A Provincial Development Council would doubtless find it expedient to forward its work by means of committees such as industrial committee agricultural committee and housekeeping committee, with such further divisions or sub-divisions as might be found desirable.

IV.—Provincial Development Commissions.

Duties:

1. To consider what may be necessary for or advantageous to the development and improvement of workers, industries, agriculture, housekeeping and other occupations within the province by means of Industrial Training and Technical Education.

2. To co-operate with the Provincial Department of Education and with other authorities within the province for the organization, administration and maintenance of Industrial Training and Technical Education within the Province.

3. To provide the service of experts for advising with local authorities and for other purposes as might be expedient.

4. To inspect and report upon the work of all classes, schools and institutions in respect to which any grant is made from public funds for Industrial Training and Technical Education; and to make recommendations to the Provincial Government in respect to the administration of any grants or other assistance in aid of Industrial Training and Technical Education.

Members to be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council.

V.—A Dominion Development Conference.

Duties:

1. To consider questions of Industrial Training and Technical Education for the development of the Dominion in respect to workers, industries, agriculture, housekeeping and occupations, referred to it by Provincial Development Councils and other authorities

constituted by Provincial Governments in this relation and to advise each provincial authority in regard to such questions.

2. To consider and report upon questions referred to it by the Dominion Development Commission.

Constitution.

Representative members:—

(a) Elected representatives of Provincial Development Councils.

Suggested basis of representation: 3 members from each Provincial Council, plus one member for each 300,000 population or fraction thereof above 300,000 in the province as determined by the latest decennial census.

Official members:—

(b) One member of each Provincial Government or a deputy accredited by him.

(c) One member of each Provincial Development Commission.

(d) Members of the Dominion Development Commission.

VI.—A Dominion Development Commission.

Duties:

1. To co-operate with provincial and local authorities, such as provincial development commissions and councils, local development boards and any other authority constituted by a provincial government for the development and improvement of industries, agriculture, housekeeping and occupations by means of Industrial Training and Technical Education.

2. To provide experts, whose services for counsel would be available to provincial and local authorities.

3. To promote scientific industrial research and the diffusion of knowledge resulting therefrom.

4. To provide and maintain and to assist in providing and maintaining central institutions to supplement the work carried on by the provincial and local development authorities, if and when such central institutions are approved by the Dominion Development Conference.

5. To make recommendations for the administration of the Dominion development Fund.

6. To report to the Governor General in Council, or to a Department of the Dominion Government.

Constitution.

Members to be appointed by the Governor General in Council.

To sum the matter up tersely the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association is in existence to aid, assist and co-operate on all questions of educational and political reform. Through the strength of our members, through the moral force of intelligent organization and by steering a clear, straightforward course, unhampered by political partisanship, free to express our opinions upon all important matters, because we are unsubsidized and free from any sinister influences, we hope to carve a place for national usefulness and to earn the confidence and good-will of our fellow citizens by sane, sound, safe and just methods in the interest of the people of all classes in this Dominion.

And all we hope for must, we realize, come through a higher Education.

ON TAX EXEMPT BONDS

(From "The Financial Times.")

THERE is a growing feeling in the more important financial circles that in issuing tax-exempt bonds the Dominion of Canada is putting in storage an abundance of trouble which could be avoided. While the Financial Times is reluctant in any way to embarrass the Finance Dept. in respect to the forthcoming Victory Loan, especially at a time when the plans of the campaign must be about completed, a frank discussion of the situation would seem to be warranted by the circumstances of the case. And in this connection we would remind our readers that to date no official announcement has been made confirming the rumours that the bonds will be tax-exempt; and, furthermore, we, until these reports were published, in common with many others, were under the impression that the next Victory Loan would not be exempt as to income tax.

There is no doubt that, so far as the Finance Department is concerned, the tax-exempt bond is the "line of least

resistance." That is to say, in view of the existing income tax (which was not in effect, though in the offing, at the time of the last Victory Loan) there is absolute assurance that the amount to be issued will be very largely over-subscribed. Such an achievement naturally will reflect the greatest credit upon the present administration at Ottawa, but the longer future may demonstrate the folly of issuing tax-exempt bonds to the unparalleled amount of a billion two hundred million dollars—for that is what it will amount before the end of 1918.

We really must look ahead, even in times of crises which characterize these days. These will come a season when the excess profit tax will be no more; there will come a season when the shrinkage in imports will reduce the revenue of the exchequer. What, then, is left to tax, if the Canadian people have from one and a half to two billion dollars of tax-exempt bonds?

It should be necessary to give a bonus, in any shape or form, to Canadians on a patriotic appeal, yet that is precisely what we did in the last great loan. We called upon the people to be "patriotic," to be "generous," and we awarded their patriotism and generosity with prizes, comprised of a bonus of interest, a valuable conversion privilege, and tax exemption. And we told the purchasers that the bonds could be sold at any time, and that the whole assets of the Dominion of Canada were behind the security. No wonder the people cheered—they were getting overweight, a baker's dozen, a pound and a half of flesh!

But it is necessary to give a prize packet to attract funds to the war chest? Are Canadians not sufficiently loyal or patriotic, call it what you will, substantially to contribute to the common fund in order to beat the common enemy? The "Financial Times" believes that the public will respond without bail. We believe that a taxable bond will sell freely enough to give the Finance Minister all that he requires on the proposed basis of yield without bonus of interest or tax exemption. We go so far as to say that the Canadian people would

oversubscribe a Victory Loan at rates below current yields.

Let us make the material advantages of the next loan secondary to the patriotic. Heaven knows we have a fullness of sentimental appeal to put before our people—an appeal of liberty.

Great Britain and the United States tried the tax-exempt bonds, but found that the exemption was not necessary. Patriotism in those countries apparently was not to be measured by interest bonus or tax exemption. Those countries did not underestimate the spirit of their people.

The future danger of present tax-exempt bonds is the danger of permanently high rates of interest. General interest rates always pivot around the prevailing rate of Government bonds. Government bonds provide the yield basis upon which all monies for social (municipal service) and industrial development are borrowed. Whatever a government bond yields, the graded securities must regulate their interest

yield accordingly. Money borrowed for purposes of the pulp mill, the steel railway or the school board, must be borrowed at a rate which will appear attractive in comparison with government bonds.

Therefore, a load of tax exempted bonds will have some very serious possibilities: it relieves the rich man of a definite duty towards the State; it places the onus of taxation upon the poor man (by indirect taxation on necessities); it raises the rate on money for industrial enterprise, the effect of which would be to make money so expensive than further development would be checked; and it puts a price and a prize on patriotism, when no price or prize is asked.

If we are equally to share the burden of the cost of freeing the world from the Prussian influence, we cannot do it by exempting from taxation a billion dollars or more of the money spent in the fulfilment of that purpose. The word exemption should be taboo. It does not fit this democracy.

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Teachers' Views on Education

(From the Montreal Gazette)

AT THE fifty-fourth annual convention of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Québec, to be held in Montreal Oct. 17th, 18th and 19th next, public interest will centre in the work and report of the School Attendance Committee. This committee was appointed at the last convention to study the need for an attendance law in this province, and also to study the child labour law. It was given powers to carry on a publicity campaign in the name and on behalf of the whole Association, which it has been doing.

The manifesto from the school attendance committee is as follows:

"The debates in the Legislative Assembly of Quebec in 1912 showed that it would hardly be possible to get passed a one-sided scheme of compulsory school attendance for Protestants alone. If the possibility of a reform is to be found along the lines of a comprehensive bill for all parties, it is important that Protestants should define the sort of measure they are prepared to work for in co-operation with their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. The following manifesto states the important principles of such a law, for which the school Attendance Committee of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers are prepared to work. For the furtherance of these principles they solicit the active co-operation of all who are interested in the education of all the children.

Our task was to work out a scheme that would fit, not with a theory, but with a situation, and one that has a long history. Under the British North America Act, section 93, education was made a matter entirely within the care and supervision of the provincial legislatures, and the religious minorities of Ontario and Quebec were therein granted the right of separate schools, to be supported by local taxation. Since Confederation there has been no demand for a change in this matter; the different provinces regard their educational autonomy as of the highest importance. Hon. C. F. Delage, our

superintendent of public instruction, emphasized this point very forcibly at Ottawa in 1917 at the meeting of the Dominion Education Association (pp. 55-58 of the report). Sir Lomer Gouin emphasized the same matter in 1911 when replying to Sir Robert Borden's appeal to the provincial premiers on behalf of the Technical Education Commission. So long as the provincial educational systems are working in conformity with the wishes of the people in the provinces concerned, or are capable of being reformed from within, there can be made out no real case for a change from the present system of autonomy in education. We know the provinces are very jealous of their autonomy. Such a change, if it ever did come, would have to come from the British Parliament as an amendment to the British North America Act, and the British Parliament would hardly be so unwise as to try to force such a change on an unwilling Quebec, which was promised its own educational system as a condition of entering Confederation, particularly when that Provincial Government is trying to reform its educational system to meet the needs and demands of its people.

Why should not Roman Catholics and Protestants unite in an effort to bring about a reform that would be of benefit to both without interfering with the character of the religious instruction given in the school of either party? As Hon. Mr. Delage so well said at Ottawa in another connection: "This educational progress we shall obtain without renouncing one particle of our autonomy or any of our ambitions or our aspirations, although not walking in the same path, nor speaking the same tongue, nor worshipping God in the same maner nor in the same temple, but by the inspiration alone of that great idea that we teach to the children of our schools: that Canada is one country, and that it is our duty to do nothing which might prevent it from attaining to its glorious destinies."

"As a matter of fact, in most large countries education is a provincial and

not a federal matter. In all the states of the United States of America, education is under state control, as it is under provincial control in Canada. The same is true of South Africa and Australia. In Great Britain and Ireland there are separate education departments and different school systems for Ireland, Scotland and England, and in 1906, as part of a larger education measure, a proposal was made to erect an Educational Council for Wales. In Ireland Erse is taught and Welsh in Wales. In England itself there is no uniform system. Before 1902 there were board schools controlled by popularly elected school boards, and voluntary schools controlled by religious bodies. The board schools taught simple Bible stories without any dogmatic theology. The act of 1902 tended to unify the system of bringing all these schools under the county or borough councils, but the character of the religious teaching was not changed. In almost no country where there are distinct differences of religion or of language can we find the so-called national schools. These differences must be reckoned with in the schools system and always have been within the British Empire. The only two places in the world where national schools have been forced on an unwilling people are in Alsace-Lorraine, and in German Poland. The Protestant teachers of this province will never be a party to a scheme that would in any measure reproduce the pathetic scenes of Daudet's 'La Dernière Classe'. And there are some advantages in the fact that we are two peoples in Quebec. John S. Mill aptly remarks in his Essay on Liberty that what has made the European family of nations an improving instead of a stationary portion of mankind is their remarkable diversity of character and culture. 'Individuals, classes, nations, have been extremely unlike one another; they have struck out a great variety of paths, each leading to something valuable.'"

"The School Attendance Committee beg to emphasize the necessity of educationalists doing nothing that will arouse distrust or suspicion of their cause. The Protestant friends of an attendance law must show the Roman Catholic friends of such a reform that the Protestant reformers have no ulterior

motives. And everyone of us must ask ourselves the question fairly whether it is better to work for educational reforms that now seem within the realm of practical politics or to advocate wild schemes that will only cause antagonisms in our province. Protestant teachers, believing that an attendance law can be obtained in Quebec, are prepared to work in harmony with their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, and to bend all their energies toward the one task of obtaining an attendance law within the present system.

"Under an attendance law, private schools must open their records of attendance to public inspection, but any regulations affecting private schools would of course be left to the respective committees of the council. This would mean no change whatever in the present law. There are a large number of foreign children in Montreal who have at present no legal school rights at all. It is not fair to class them together as Protestants as the Finnie Bill proposed to do, nor yet as Catholics. Where the parent does not pay taxes, he would have to declare to what school he wishes his children to go. The attendance officers of the two boards of any district would have to work together to see that no children escaped their notice. Along such or similar lines the School Attendance Committee believes a bill can be drafted within the present law that will be eminently fair to all.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee.

"IRVING O. VINCENT,
Convenor.

"W. C. R. ANDERSON,
Secretary."

"Montreal, May 15th, 1918."

THE PROGRAMME

The programme of convention is as follows:

Thursday, Oct. 17th, A.M.—Reports.

P.M.—Mr. P. E. Layton, of Layton Bros., will explain the claims of the Blind Children on the teaching profession. Mr. Barss, Supt. of Boys' Farm, Shawbridge, will speak of the education of the sub-normal child. Miss Coles will lead in the discussion.

Evening.—Lecture, Rev. Dr. Pedley,

Teaching Profession as a Moral Influence in Community Life. Presidential address, Pres. G. A. Adams of Granby.

Friday, October 18th, A.M.—Convention will meet in Sections.

Kind Section.—Miss Bennett will speak of Music Ideals in Education of Child. Miss Mabel Brittain will speak of Voice Culture and Speaking. Miss L. Murphy will speak of Canadian Song Birds and their Songs.

Elementary Section.—Miss Warner will give a demonstration of games, and Prin. Spinney will speak on Games and Discipline. English Literature of V and VI Years will be discussed. Prin. Bacon will teach teachers to write, and Miss M. V. Allen same with a class of children.

Superior Section.—Inspector Parker

will give a paper on Geometry and Mr. Astbury on Problems of Teaching Problems in Geometry. Mr. Chapman will speak on Geography in Superior Grades, and Miss M. G. Fraser on teaching Current History in Schools.

Afternoon.—The report of the School Attendance Committee will be discussed. Sir Wm. Peterson, K.C. M.G., Prof. J. A. Dale and others, will lead in the discussion. This will be an open meeting, and the public are specially invited to be present. In the same connection Mrs. John Scott will read a paper on the Relation of the Parent to the School.

Evening.—Lecture, Conservation of Bird Life, and its Economic Value, Dr. Gordon Hewett, of Ottawa.

EDUCATION AND THE WAR

(From "The Gazette")

To the Editor of The Gazette:

Sir,—“The war has agitated every British country to its foundation. It has caused such a searching of hearts as the world has not known before in modern times.” Such are the words of the head of the Conservation Commission of Canada and while he was thinking essentially of material things, it is being felt in things educational as well, for the later remarks: “To save our heritage in material things we must develop the ability to sell more brains and less material.” Does not this mean more education? Mr. Fisher, president of the Board of Education in England, said in an interview recently: “Obviously the first requirement of a better England must be better education, and especially more education for the children of the people.”

One of the early results of the war in Britain was that the school enrolment dropped off. “In three years of war 600,000 children in Britain have been withdrawn prematurely from schools and become immersed in industry.” Various causes contributed towards this result: removal of the restraining influence of the father, in-

creasing economic pressure from the higher cost of living and the temptation of unusually high wages for children of school age due to war activities—all have played their part. A second and consequential result of the withdrawal from school, the impatience of restraint due to the absence of the father and the spirit of unrest and the excitement of the times, was an alarming increase of juvenile crime. The experience of the other Allied warring nations has been similar. Even Canada and Montreal have been affected as can be shown by the records of the Juvenile Courts during the past four years.

When the United States entered the war her educational leaders alarmed by the experiences of other countries, took counsel. As a result the head of their educational forces, Mr. P. P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education, issued an appeal, a clarion call to the nation and the nation's leaders in pulpit, in factory and in the home and addressed it to the Church, to the educational authorities, to the labor unions, to women's clubs, to charitable and moral reform organizations, asking them all to unite in keeping up

the standard of education and regular attendance of pupils in the schools. He says, "When the war is over, whether within a few months or after many years, there will be such demands upon this country for men and women of scientific knowledge, technical skill and general culture as have never before come to any country. The world must be rebuilt. This country must play a far more important part than it has in the past in agriculture, manufacturing and commerce, and also in the things of cultural life, art, literature, music and scientific discovery." If we in Canada, if we in Old Quebec, are to attain to any important position in the world that is to be, do not these things apply equally to us? But material welfare, valuable as it is, is not all, and in clear ringing sentences Mr. Claxton continues. "But democracy requires for success universal knowledge, intelligence, virtue of a high degree; and it must protect itself from weakness and corruption within as well as from forceful invasion from without." Why? Let me answer in the words of Mr. Fisher, "No people which does not respect education, will demand and support good government. I believe, and an increasing number of other people are beginning to believe, that education lies at the root of happiness for every people." What evidence is there that the belief in more education is affecting the nations; that it strikes at the root of the happiness of every people?

As the leaders of Britain through the stress and strain of war came to see that universal education is a mighty factor in the realization of the nation's highest efficiency, so the demand for more education for the masses grew. The Workers' Educational Association, a federation embracing 2,150 organizations, including 737 trade unions, 381 co-operative committees, 138 teachers' associations, etc., formulated its aims and pressed them on the Government. The president of the Board of Education brought down a bill on the 16th of August, 1917, providing for £3,200,000 (about \$16,000,000) per year of "new money" for higher salaries (which means better teachers) and pensions for the teachers of the elementary schools. The bill abolishes half time attendance,

restricts children's employment, establishes a school leaving age of 14 without exception, and provides for compulsory attendance in continuation schools to the extent of 320 hours' instruction per year up to the age of 18. In Scotland the school leaving age is being raised to 15 and provision is being made such that no person shall for lack of means be deprived of the full-est education of which he is capable.

In the United States the recent Smith-Hughes' Act (1917) of the Federal Congress set aside a total appropriation of \$38,000,000, spread over eight years, to be spent in grants to states on account of salaries for teachers in vocational and industrial schools.

In Canada since the war began two provinces have placed school attendance acts for the first time upon their statute books, namely, Manitoba in March, 1916, and Saskatchewan in the spring of 1917. Nova Scotia amended and greatly improved its attendance law in 1915, while Alberta in 1914, 1915 and 1916 added to and amended its law until now it has one of the best and most effective attendance acts in Canada. As a result of Alberta's Attendance Law and other acts providing for the keeping open of schools longer yearly, Alberta increased the year's grand total days of attendance from 3,403,422 days, to 5,037,411 days within a period of two years, an increase of 48 per cent. In his report, the minister, the Hon. John R. Boyle, says: "As the years 1914 and 1915 have not been periods of any considerable immigration into the country, this remarkable increase cannot be accounted for by large increase of population, but is chiefly due to our organization for requiring schools to be kept in operation and the children to attend thereat."

The province of Ontario has, in comparatively recent years, inaugurated a system of continuation schools. Her educational leaders are now advocating compulsory attendance at these schools of children from 14 to 16 years of age. In advocating this advance step, the Director of Industrial and Technical Education for Ontario says: "An elementary education is necessary as a foundation for all forms of vocational and technical education. But it is evident that no matter how perfect the system, the aims to be realized cannot be

attained unless the attendance of those to be educated can be secured for the complete course offered."

Fellow educationalists, leaders of thought in Quebec, citizens of the province, consider carefully the words of Commissioner Claxton, of Washington: "For many reasons there will be need in this country (U. S. A.) for higher standards in average ability, knowledge and virtue when the boys and girls now in our schools have reached manhood and womanhood than we or any other nation have yet attained to." Then, in the light of that statement consider the following statistics, which you can verify for yourself on page IX, of the "Educational Statistics for the School Year 1915-1916, Quebec"—an official statement.

Enrolment of pupils in the schools of the province: First Year classes, 170,124; Second Year classes, 106,790; Third Year classes, 83,618; Fourth Year classes, 52,187; Fifth Year classes, 23,932. Compare First Year with each of the others, then consider how vast an army of our youth are, one school generation after another, growing to manhood and womanhood with the merest pittance in education.

Oh, for a Fisher or a Claxton in Quebec, who, seeing how pitifully inadequate is the schooling of the great mass of our children, will sound the tocsin, enlist the intelligent and influential and arouse

the people to demand Education ! More Education ! More Education for all !

A well-educated citizenry is essential to democracy and intelligent workers a necessity to industry, that is, to meet the competition of intelligent workers from other lands. As a first step let us now unite in urging the enactment of an effective School Attendance Law.

Shall we, can we, appeal to our educational leaders in the province, to the illustrious Prime Minister of the province, who has shown more real interest in education than all his predecessors, to the members of our Councils of Public Instruction, to the head and ornament of our Educational System ? Here is your opportunity ! Take up the cause ! Lead the progressive forces ! Arouse the clergy, the Boards of Trade, the patriotic clubs, the labor organizations, the women's organizations and all others who can be relied on to work in a harmonious and co-ordinated movement for the welfare of the children of this historic province. Why delay ? The war has provided an atmosphere congenial to reform. Let not the psychological moment pass, for while you wait one generation more of school children is being deprived of its educational rights and passes on to swell the ranks of the unemployed and unemployable.

W. C. R. Anderson.

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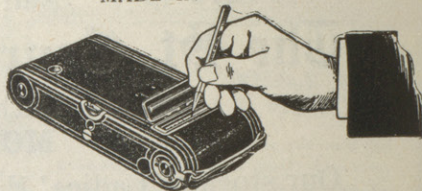
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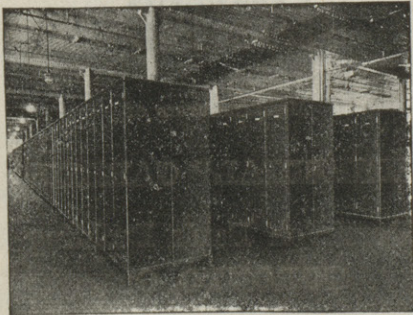
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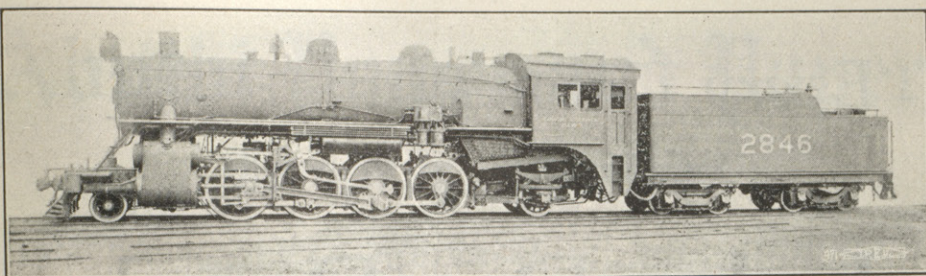
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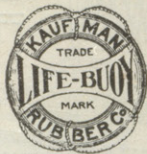
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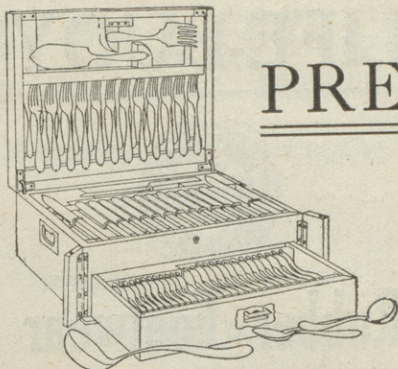
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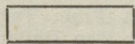
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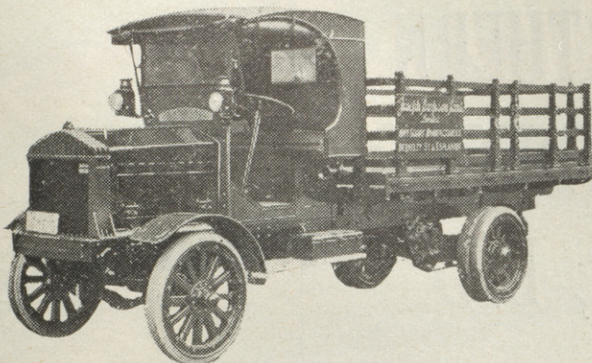
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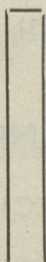
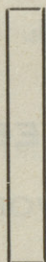
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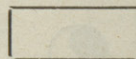
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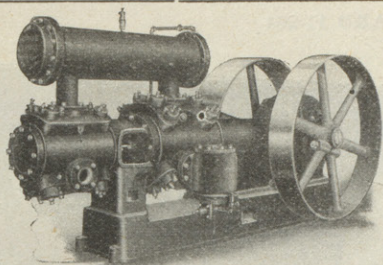


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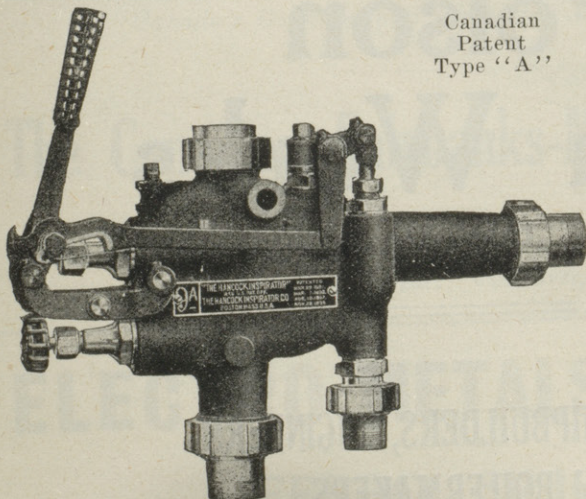
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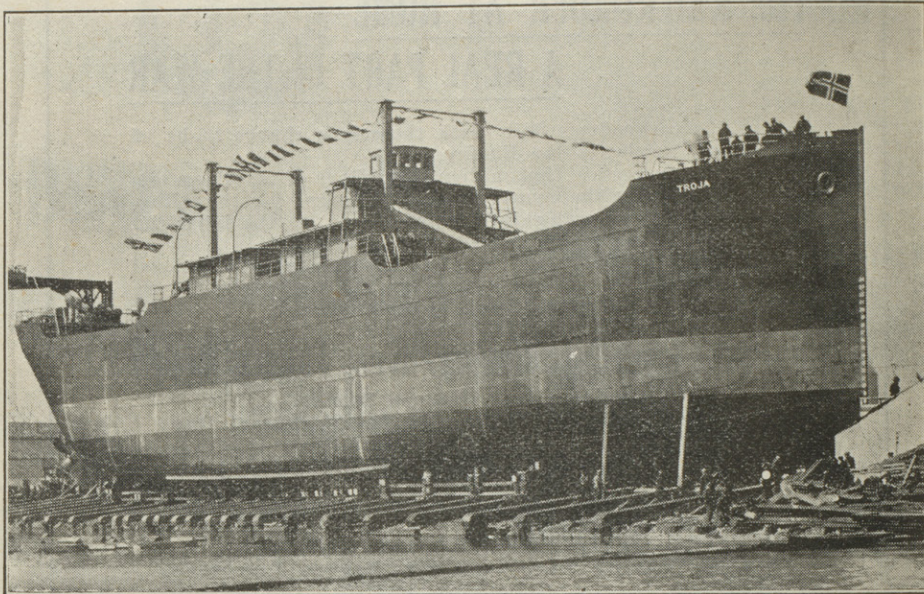
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